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Ethnic Broadcasting in the United States

Theodore C. Grame

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Cover: Essie Kent broadcasts in the Ute language on radio station KSUT, Ignacio, Colorado. Photo by Theodore Grame

ETHNIC BROADCASTING IN THE UNITED STATES

by

THEODORE C. GRAME

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To Terrence

"I kiss your hand, grandfather. I kiss your right shoulder, I kiss your left shoulder. Grandfather, hello!"

Kazantzakis, Report to Greco

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PREFACE

When I was a child, growing up in the multiethnic Bronx, the living room of our modest apartment seemed dominated by a huge mahogany Majestic radio, mounted on spindly legs and surmounted with a vaulted top. We listened every evening, on Saturday afternoons, and on Sundays. On weekday afternoons at five p.m., I enjoyed the gentle songs and stories of Irene Wicker, "The Singing Lady"; later I--and millions more like me--were exhorted to be as "smart" as Joel of the "Quiz Kids." Saturday afternoon was sacred to the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, which, if they seemed tedious to a small boy, nevertheless represented a peak in my immigrant parents' care-strewn week, for both of them, however devoted they were to their separate ethnic traditions, loved opera.

Sunday. In the afternoon the radio was sometimes tuned to one or more of the Greek programs that flourished--and flourish yet--in New York. But before and after these broadcasts (carried on such largely ethnic stations as WBNX, WBYN, WEVD, WOV, WHOM) a half-listening child heard snatches of unfamiliar speech and music. He made a guessing game of it: Was it Polish, German, Yiddish, Italian, Lithuanian, Syrian? Trying to grasp some musical essentials, he questioned himself: "What," he wondered, "do the instruments look like?" Bathed in what seemed to be a torrent of unfamiliar words, he waited, knowing that sooner or later there would be something understandable, pronounced in an unfamiliar accent: "Brooklyn," "Eighth Avenue," "Nueva York." From these disembodied sounds came, not only the notion that radio was a multi-cultural medium, but an almost native awareness that residents of the United States spoke in different tongues and loved varied musics. It was an important part of my education, and the contribution of many long-dead broadcasters must be acknowledged here.

The Greek word, ethnikos, means "a nation, tribe, people." In general, we have used this root of the slippery term, "ethnic," in this work. We have found that persons who are consciously ethnic, to the extent that they listen to particular radio programs, regard themselves as culturally distinctive, even as "minorities." Some younger readers may be surprised to find in this work quotations from older writings in which the latter term has a vastly broader meaning than the one recently fastened upon it by zealous members of one bureaucracy or another. The term, used here in quotes from others, simply means what it says: a cultural or ethnic minority.

As far as language is concerned, the fact that an individual happens to speak English, Spanish, or Portuguese does not necessarily have more than a tangential relationship to that person's ethnic self-identification. In our survey of broadcasting, for example, we

learned that members of several highly distinctive cultural groups utilize English: East Indians, Irish, Jews, Scots, and West Indians. By the same token, persons from Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and other countries, speak in Spanish. So far as Portuguese is concerned, people from the culturally distinctive Azores, Cape Verde Islands, Brazil, and the Portuguese mainland all utilize variants of the same language. Again, Acadians, French-Canadians, Haitians, and certain other West Indians all speak separate versions of French, but they do not by any means consider themselves to be culturally identical.

At one time, the term, "foreign-language" radio was in vogue as a descriptive name for much of the material that we here call "ethnic radio." While this is historically interesting, it is far too inaccurate to use here. We can hardly subsume Native American languages, French, Spanish, and some German radio under the word, "foreign," and indeed the persistence of many other languages into the third and fourth generation hardly qualifies them as foreign either.

Each one of the programs that we examine in the ensuing work has a number of things in common: it is designed by and for members of one of the cultural minorities that, put together, constitute the mosaic that is the United States; persons affected may have black skins (Haitians and other Caribbeans), or they may be Nordic (Swedes, Norwegians). They may well speak languages that have been given the official imprimatur of "minority status" (Spanish), or they may not (Arabic, Armenian). They may have the benison of officially-designated "minority group" (Chinese) or they may not (East Indians). They may be Asians officially designated as such (Japanese, Koreans), or they may not (Iranians, Armenians, Turks). This confusion, of course, is the result of the nation's struggle with the problems of conceptualizing and making policy for the existent multicultural reality. Ethnic broadcasters, for their parts, sorted all this out long ago: they exist by and for members of their cultural enclaves, and they almost without exception define these in <u>local</u>, rather than national or regional, terms. With very few exceptions, then, ethnic broadcasting is of minority status in terms of hours on the air, for in almost no case is a local ethnic community large enough to support full-time broadcasting.

Many individuals and institutions have helped me immeasurably in the creation of this work; among my anonymous benefactors have been librarians at the Brooklyn, Clearwater, Cleveland, Evanston, Modesto, New Mexico State and New York Public libraries.

My wife, Kathleen M. Monahan, cheerfully put up with my absence for more than one day out of every three during the past year and a half; and she coped equally with my frequent off-hand "Oh, did I tell you that I'm going to Washington on Monday?" I am in her debt, too, for sharing with me her knowledge of broadcasting, ethnic studies, and ethnic

radio. My son, Terry, managed to ferret out more than one program that I would otherwise have missed; and he uncomplainingly put up with long treks on foot to visit stations and studios.

I have benefitted from many hours of discussion with my friend and former colleague at the University of Pittsburgh, the Ethnic American News, and the Pittsburgh Ethnic Coalition, Father Ivan Dornic. Among the writers whose concepts have been most useful to me in connection with this work, I must list Richard Barnett and Ronald Muller, Erik Barnouw, Richard Dorson, Joshua Fishman, Kenneth Goldstein, Michael Novak, Vance Packard, William Whyte, and the late Arnold Toynbee. I have benefitted also from discussions with Paul Berliner, Pandora Hopkins, Michael Kaloyanides, and my old friend Alan Lomax.

At least 150 ethnic broadcasters contributed to this project, and many of them are unknown to me in person. I am nevertheless grateful to them for making the sacrifices of time and money that are so often the lot of the ethnic broadcaster, and thus enabling me to hear their programs. Beyond this, however, a number of ethnic broadcasters were extremely generous with their time in face-to-face contact. They included Mr. Orestes Demetriades (Boston); Joe Bauer and Kenneth Kovach (Cleveland); May Gilene Begay (Flagstaff); Lillian Siebel (Ignacio); Emil Antonoff, Alan Asas, Allan Collins, and Jan Petlicka (New York); Charles Henson (Philadelphia); Dr. Victor Molnar (Pittsburgh); Kenneth Carey, Carlos Duharte, Angel Montanos, and John Whooley (San Francisco).

In Glenwood, California, Bob Edward and Eldyn Karr of the "The Voice of Prophecy" were generous, not only with their time, but in finding printed and recorded material that helped me to understand their institution.

Two ethnic broadcasters with whom I have from time to time had long and fruitful discussions were Mike Folan, of the Pittsburgh "Irish Hour," and Nick Trdina, who for nearly thirty years was the host of the McKeesport "Slavic Moods" program. Their thoughtful articulation and understanding of the problems and opportunities facing ethnic radio have contributed much to my own understanding of this phenomenon.

Finally, I am grateful to the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, for making possible the research, writing, and publication of this work. Beyond the administrative and financial support necessary, I have been fortunate that Alan Jabbour, director, and Elena Bradunas, folklife specialist, took a direct hand in things by taping several programs and one interview. Moreover, Carl Fleischhauer kindly persuaded his father, Professor Wolfgang Fleischhauer, to tape several broadcasts and interviews. Beyond even this, I had the opportunity to talk at length about ethnicity, folklife, and the communications industry with Peter Bartis of the Center, as well as with Ms. Bradunas, Mr. Fleischhauer, and Dr. Jabbour.

Tarpon Springs, Florida
May 4, 1979

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There, in the *bondestue*, the replica of a Norse farm kitchen, pale women in scarlet jackets embroidered with gold thread and colored beads, in black skirts with a line of blue, green-striped aprons, and ridged caps very pretty to set off a fresh face, had served *rommegrod og lefse*--sweet cakes and sour milk pudding spiced with cinnamon. . . .

But she saw these Scandinavian women zealously exchanging their spiced puddings and red jackets for fried pork chops and congealed white blouses, trading the ancient Christmas hymns of the fjords for "She's My Jazzland Cutie," being Americanized into uniformity, and in less than a generation losing in the greyness whatever pleasant new customs they might have added to the life of the town. Their sons finished the process. In ready-made clothes and ready-made high-school phrases they sank into propriety, and the sound American customs had absorbed without one trace of pollution another alien invasion.

Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street*

PART ONE

THE STATE OF ETHNIC BROADCASTING

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The person who studies a living phenomenon believes that he has several options in connection with his investigation, so far as its effect on the matter at hand is concerned. He can attempt to inflect his work so that it has no effect whatever on the subject. He can become partisan in one way or another, supporting "continuity" or "change." He can take what might be called an ecological position, attempting to allow all things or cultures to flourish or wither according to mysterious rules. Finally, he can take a kind of "tough-minded" political scientist's stance, and assume that he has the knowledge--and connections--to enhance or destroy the matter at hand.

It was impossible, in the course of the present project, to avoid involvement with the possibilities mentioned above. It is not every day, after all, that an unknown person, complete with beard and briefcase, arrives in San Francisco or Boston, Crowley or Flagstaff, announcing that he is studying ethnic radio for the distant Library of Congress. The person whom he meets may exhibit or conceal suspicion, pleasure, or hostility, but the interview changes that person's perception of the value of his activities.

Sometimes a scholar pretends an objectivity that he does not really have; he conceals a bias of one kind or another from himself, the subjects of his investigation, and, finally, his readers. In the present case I am undoubtedly partisan: my own cultural background as well as what I consider to be cultural, economic, and pyschological imperatives mandate my support of ethnic broadcasting. But this partisanship, I think, should properly be confined here to questions of the history and current status of the phenomenon, not tinged with overt (or covert) judgements concerning "quality." In candor, there would have been no possibility of making this study if it had not immediately become apparent to broadcasters that I was on their side; that I believed in the survival and proliferation of ethnic broadcasting. More than one person catechized me on my background and my beliefs concerning ethnicity, multiculturalism, and the value of ethnic broadcasting. Once satisfied, they became open, confidential, and generous with their time. I had the impression in some instances that they had been wondering for years why no one had ever asked them about the subject.

The genesis of the present work was the result of one of these more-or-less chance encounters that so often determine personal and policy decisions. It happened that this writer had been asked by his friend Richard Dorson to participate in a symposium concerning an ambitious folklife research project that forces from Indiana University

had carried out in Gary. It further chanced that, at dinner one night, I sat next to Elena Bradunas, who had participated in the Gary project, and who had since joined the staff of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. Since both she and I were involved in the study and maintenance of ethnic cultures in America, it was natural that our talk should turn to ethnic radio.

It happened that, during the four years that I had spent in Pittsburgh, I had had considerable contact with ethnic radio in that community, as a broadcaster, as a writer of the radio series "One Land, Many Voices," and as organizer and President of the Heritage Broadcast Institute. I knew, therefore, that ethnic radio remained a significant (if largely unrecognized) part of our cultural tradition, and I knew something about its history and economic situation.

As a result of my animated conversation with Elena Bradunas, the idea grew, within the American Folklife Center, of sponsoring research concerning the little-known subject of ethnic broadcasting. Accordingly, towards the end of 1977, I agreed to do a preliminary survey of the state of ethnic radio in the United States, concentrating, however, on Denver, Pittsburgh, and the Tampa Bay area. A 112-page report was submitted to the American Folklife Center on 15 December 1977, and I included as part of it a suggestion that the subject was far too broad and important to be encompassed in a work of that size. The ultimate result of that suggestion was that the Center made it possible for me to continue the investigation of ethnic broadcasting; accordingly, on 1 March 1978 I set out on a new series of treks.

A number of considerations entered into the design of the second phase of the project. Chief among them was my certain knowledge that ethnic broadcasting was to be heard in almost every state in the union. For this reason, I opted for the sometimes exhausting process of visiting sixteen representative states across the nation, rather than the easier method of settling down for extensive fieldwork in one or two locations alone. I reasoned that, while many persons might be aware that ethnic broadcasting existed in the industrial cities of the Northeast and Middle West, far fewer would connect it with other states and cities. This is not to say that this report by any means reflects the totality of ethnic broadcasting in the United States. Logistical and financial considerations made it necessary to confine the project mainly to centers of population--to metropolitan areas, in other words. Dozens of smaller places scattered throughout the land themselves possess considerable ethnic broadcasting activity, though it has been impossible to do more than reflect it in the present work. We could not squeeze the money out of our budget to visit Rutland, Vermont; Temple, Texas; Eveleth, Minnesota; or Central City, Pennsylvania. Moreover, a serious--though necessary--lack was the ommission both of Alaska and Hawaii, in both of which there is considerable ethnic broadcasting.

Having determined on as broad a geographical sampling as possible, I aimed for the inclusion of as many ethnic-groups-in-America as I could. The final total includes no less than 54 ethnic groups speaking 47 languages. (The disparity is caused by the fact that several groups speak English or Spanish.) We hoped, further, to show that ethnic and geographic diversity show an intricate interplay; rather than sticking to the old notion that Slavs, say, remain in Pittsburgh, Jews in New York, or Greeks in Chicago, we tried to indicate the breadth of ethnic dispersal--and survival. Despite our broad success in the inclusion of as many groups as we did, there were omissions, notably in Eskimo languages (which are totally unrepresented here), many Native American tribes, Hawaiian, Pennsylvania German, and French-Canadian. This was mainly because these groups are isolated from population centers.

My field procedure was as follows. Before arriving in a particular area, I contrived to learn something about what radio stations bore the primary responsibility for broadcasting ethnic material. Very often in ethnic radio, these are low-powered stations with offices and transmitters located away from the center city. When I knew the location of the principal broadcasters, I searched for a centrally located community. Often, this too was in an outlying area--a good thing from the point of view of the person who must subsist on government per-diem. Beyond this, I favored older and taller hotels which could provide an unobstructed room fairly high up. I carried a Sony 153SD portable cassette recorder, a Realistic AM/FM tuner, and a large quantity of recording tape. With this equipment, I recorded programs, keeping track of them with a log book.

The other principal phase of the on-the-spot activity took the form of interviews with producers and station managers. I did not record any of this material, for a variety of practical reasons. It might be worth while to expatiate on this matter.

For many years, folklorists have favored the notion that the cultural material with which they deal is somehow more heavily orally based than the rest of culture. (It has been their paradox--and their misfortune--that they themselves generally belong to networks of literary communication, in the main.) Somehow, it has come to seem like a good compromise to insert a recording device between the folklorist and the informant, thus preserving the orality of the original experience. The matter on which the folklorist is judged, of course, remains, for the most part, the written research report, though recordings on film, tape, and disc have assumed a growing importance over the years. In the present instance, there could be no doubt that the primary product would be a written report, and that all energies, for the limited time that was available, should be bent to make that report as solid and authoritative as possible. In other words, if any step in the investigation could be regarded as cosmetic,

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it would have to be omitted. It was my belief that the basic source material (what my teachers in graduate school used to call the primary source) was the broadcasts themselves. They, after all, are the communicative matter that we deal with--and that future scholars will surely find to be of value.

There were also a good many practical considerations. In no instance did my frenetic schedule, when coupled with that of a group of equally harrassed broadcasters, allow for the luxury of more than one interview. Now, it is common knowledge that it is not always sound practice to make a tape recording of a sensitive interview on a first visit, but there were several factors beyond this.

First, my interviewees were in every case busy, urbanized people-on-the-run. It represented a great courtesy on their parts to spend as much time with a stranger as they did. Indeed, in a number of cases, it represented a financial sacrifice in terms of time lost, and even meals bought.

Second, we met at times when they were in the very middle of the weekly economic activities. I conducted fifteen major interviews in the following situations: telephone, 1; shop, 2; restaurant, 2; radio station, 5; TV channel, 1; studio, 2; office, 2.

All of the persons I interviewed were connected with ethnic broadcasting, either as producers, executives, or sometimes both. Seven, to be exact, were management personnel; one was a public-relations director; two were full-time producers; one was a museum director; one a Federal employee; three were entrepreneurs.

Third, there was the matter of initial suspicion. Radio is a highly competitive affair, and, for all the broadcasters knew at first, I might well have been a kind of comparison shopper or industrial spy. Moreover, when I mentioned Washington, broadcasters at once made the jump to the Federal Communications Commission (F.C.C.), not always a popular organization with persons in the industry. It was necessary first of all to prove my credibility, and the methods selected were varied. One person asked for identification; another asked me what ethnicity meant; a third insisted on a letter before he would grant an interview. These demands are altogether reasonable, not only because of the competitive economic situation, but even more because of the ways in which ethnicity is often derided or disparaged in the media and the academy. Had I not known this firsthand myself--had I, in other words, not been able to pass muster as an ethnic--I would not have been able to elicit satisfactory results. A tape recorder might well have been the kiss of death.

As it was, these broadcasters were without exception hospitable and open, even confidential. There are a number of instances in the

ensuing sections where I do not attribute a statement to the individual who made it. The reason, of course, is the need, often, for confidentiality. The economic life of many ethnic enterprises hangs, as we shall see, by a thread, and ethnic radio is no exception. Producers, therefore, are vulnerable in many ways. I could not take the responsibility of harming them in any way.

Let us glance for a moment at ethnic broadcasting as folklife, for it presents a situation that goes far beyond the "Is there a Folk in the City?" question discussed by folklorists a few years ago. For we deal here, not only with urbanized individuals, but with persons who--by choice--have become knowledgeable about, and have thrust themselves into the teeth of, the communications industry. They have taken upon themselves the immensely difficult task of using the tools (themselves neutral, to be sure) that have become associated with "mass" or "popular" culture, and using them to maintain their own visions of community. Though I did not presume to ask any of them whether they thought that they or their listeners were "The Folk," I imagine that they would have regarded the question with a mixture of puzzlement and amusement. Their professional and personal affiliations, after all, flow in the channels of ethnic identity. Much of the concern of the folklorist ever since the discipline was born has, after all, been with ethnic identity; it is this central core of commonality that binds the broadcaster and the folklife specialist together.

During the year and a half and more during which I was involved with this research work, I recorded some or all of 152 radio programs; another dozen or so were kindly provided by other persons. I interviewed 18 broadcasters at length.

The fieldwork portion of this study occupied a total of over one hundred days; that I was able to squeeze this amount of time out of a budget that called for 77 is, I think, a tribute to my careful peasant forebears. I travelled as far south as Miami and Los Angeles; as far north as Boston; as far west as San Francisco. I stayed for one or more nights in hotels in 23 different cities, some of them more than once. I travelled probably 30,000 miles by plane, bus, and train and gazed over both the Canadian and Mexican borders, recording relevant material from the other side of each of them.

In all the record of the project includes cassettes of programs broadcast over 59 radio stations in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Though I had no means of recording ethnic television, I did observe it in Chicago, Detroit, Flagstaff, Los Angeles, Modesto, New York, and Philadelphia. I report my observations in the appropriate places in this work.

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CHAPTER II

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Because the subject of ethnic broadcasting has rarely been broached in print, the bibliography is scattered, limited, and confusing. There are several reasons for this lacuna: 1. The study of radio itself has been overshadowed for many years by that of television. 2. Ethnicity has until recently been a largely unmined field of scholarly endeavor. 3. Folklorists and musicologists have long regarded the electronic media more as a menace than as a subject for study. 4. Most ethnic broadcasting has taken place in metropolitan areas into which folklorists and ethnomusicologists have not until recently cared to penetrate.

For scholarly material concerning radio in general, and ethnic broadcasting in particular, we must look to the fields of communication, linguistics, and sociology, but studies in these fields provide very little of value to the student of ethnic broadcasting. Indeed, the present work is the first comprehensive study of the subject ever to be published in the United States (though not in Europe: see Hujanen 1976).

Frances Densmore, writing in 1915 of the Native American, wrote tearfully of "standing by the grave of the Red Man," saying, "Here lies my Brother." In an unexpected resurrection, the Native American (the "Vanishing American") has managed, not only to climb out of the tomb to which he had been consigned, but to increase and multiply. In a way, ethnic radio has been in the same situation, quietly surviving while the "authorities" thought it moribund:

> There have been many euphemisms for ethnic in radio. At one time a number of New York stations were oriented in greater or lesser degree to foreign language programming, reflecting the "old country" languages of largely immigrant and foreign, particularly European, ethnic groups in the New York City metropolitan area. More recently ethnic became a euphemism for Black, as the civil rights struggles led to more and more recognition by and access to communications media of minority, particularly Black, groups. (Hilliard 1976, p. 116)

Dr. Hilliard, at the time when his book was published, was chief of the Educational Broadcasting Branch of the Federal Communications Commission.

The standard history of American broadcasting is Erik Barnouw's massive three-volume study, A History of Broadcasting in the United States (1966-1970); it is an invaluable work, but it includes only three brief references to "foreign language broadcasting."

We have indicated that until now there has been no book-length study of American ethnic broadcasting, but the bibliography even of periodical articles and chapters of books comprises little more than a half-dozen citations. The oldest, a study based on a survey conducted by the W.P.A., is by R. Arnheim and M. Bayne; it is entitled "Foreign Language Broadcasts over Local American Stations," and is published in P. Lazerfield's and F. Stanton's Radio Research (1941, pp. 3-64). The next, which draws heavily on several surveys of "Foreign-Language" broadcasts published in mimeographed form by the American Council for Nationalities Service, is M. E. Warshauer's "Foreign Language Broadcasting," published as Chapter Four of Joshua Fishman's Language Loyalty in the United States (1966).

Two recent examinations are the present author's chapter, "Ethnic Recordings and Radio," in his America's Ethnic Music (1976); this draws heavily on Kathleen M. Monahan's "The Irish Hour: An Expression of the Musical Tastes and Cultural Values of the Pittsburgh Irish Community," in Ethnicity (1977, 4:201-215).

In addition to these articles and chapters, there are a few useful surveys in other, more popular (though not all easily accessible) magazines. The oldest is R. Glazer's study, "The World of Station WEVD," in Commentary (1955, 19:162-170). M. Hyatt's "The Wind That Speaks to Navajos," in PEN (May 1964, 39:4-8), seems to be almost the longest of the extremely scattered articles devoted to radio operated by or for Native Americans. More recently, an article in the Denver Post Sunday magazine, Contemporary (6 Nov. 1977, pp. 29f), led us to Ignacio, Colorado, where we learned something about the activities of station KSUT. Finally, we must mention a brief article in TV Guide 15 March 1977. It is by Joseph Finnigan and is entitled "Lewandowski, Svrogovska, and Papadatos are Household Names Too."

Every now and then, one comes across a study in the field of socio-linguistics in which ethnic broadcasting is taken into consideration. There are two such by Joshua Fishman, Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States (1966) and Yiddish in America (1965). P. Seaman has contributed to our knowledge of radio in the Greek-American community in his Modern Greek and American English in Contact (1972).

Studies of the ethnic situation in the electronic media include several in the Journal of Broadcasting: E. Dunn, "Mexican-American Media Behavior," (1975, 19:3-10); O. Walker and W. Rudelius, "Ascertaining Programming Needs of 'Voiceless' Community Groups,"

(1976, 20:89-99); R. Johnstone, "Who Listens to Religious Broadcasts Anymore?" (1971-1972, 16:91-102). An angry dissent against radio policy from around 1950 is E. Konecky's undated The American Communications Conspiracy.

Without doubt, there is a good deal of information concerning ethnic broadcasting hidden in the vast--and inchoate--literature concerning the various ethnic groups in America. This aspect of the bibliography of ethnicity is extremely difficult to come to terms with, for a good deal of it is privately printed or sponsored by ethnic organizations and uncopyrighted. One such work that we have found useful in this book is a self-published ethnic biography, G. Steffanides's America the Land of My Dreams (1974). Two among the many works devoted to the history or sociology of specific ethnic groups that convey information concerning ethnic broadcasting are R. Kutak's The Story of a Bohemian-American Village: A Study of Social Persistence and Change (1933), and M. Cardozo's The Portuguese in America 590 B.C.-1974 (1976). Another approach is taken by Herbert Gans in his study of the Italian community of Boston, The Urban Villagers (1962). This author attempts to explain the attitudes of the Italian-American group to standard network television. Still another view of the perception, by members of various ethnic groups, of television is found in T. Grame's chapter, "Symbolism of Music on Television," in his What is Music? (1977).

The World War II period gave rise to considerable discussion of radio as a propaganda medium, and its relation to ethnic broadcasting. For example, J. Roucek's chapter, "Foreign-Language Broadcasts," in F. Brown and J. Roucek, One America (1945), is principally concerned with the alleged extent to which members of various "foreign-language" communities were exposed to pro-Axis propaganda before and during World War II. In addition, we find such articles as L. Wirth's "Morale and Minority Groups," in American Journal of Sociology (1941, 47:421-422), and J. S. Smith's "Broadcasting for Marginal Americans," in the Public Opinion Quarterly (1942, 6:588-603). Another study that may be useful as background is S. Dryer's Radio in Wartime (1942). Though it says little about ethnic broadcasting itself, it does give the reader a feeling for the attitudes of the times.

The daily press in general pays as little attention to the broadcast media as it possibly can, perceiving them as rivals for the public's trust and affection. In most cities, of course, there is a Radio-Television columnist whose material is often a pastiche of press releases supplied by the networks and the press agents of stars, would-be stars, and former stars. Radio is almost totally ignored--and ethnic radio might as well not exist. In 1970, for example, The Pittsburgh Press ran a series of articles on radio, surveying each station and asking for a list of programs by genre: jazz, public affairs, classical, and so on. Since the author, Edward Blank, did

not include any categories that would indicate the presence of ethnic broadcasts, he did not learn of any and the survey was seriously flawed as a result.

As another instance of the way in which a system of categorization creates its own results, this writer spent a day examining the very extensive file, "Radio," in the Pennsylvania Room of the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. He was astonished to discover that there was not one reference to ethnic radio in the folders. The reason for this, of course, is that the information that ends up in the file is subjected to a series of intellectual sifts, as follows:

1. The library subscribes to an unrepresentative set of newspapers and periodicals, omitting, for example, the ethnic press.

2. The "representative" publications each have a self-imposed grid, through which no information concerning ethnic broadcasting filters.

3. The librarian imposes a third sifting process.

The inevitable result, then, is that the investigator, unless he or she is exceptionally courageous and resourceful, ends up, as Joshua Fishman says in a somewhat different context, in a situation in which "reality is seriously misconstrued."

In spite of the shortcomings that we have mentioned above, the daily press and the ethnic press hold a good deal of unelucidated information concerning the history of ethnic broadcasting. At one time, for instance, most local newspapers listed the programs to be heard, on a daily basis. Any protest concerning the activities of a radio station are likely to be mentioned in the daily newspapers. (See, for example, the listings under "Dolgan" in our bibliography.) As far as the ethnic press is concerned, we now have a bibliographical tool to assist us in learning of the existence of various ethnic papers: L. and A. Wynar's Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States (1976). The person who looks for information concerning ethnic broadcasting in the ethnic press should not, by the way, neglect the advertisements; very often the ethnic producers take a regular ad in these papers.

Perhaps the greatest treasure trove of all is a mass of printed material that is found in few, if any, libraries. This consists of the booklets and brochures produced in connection with anniversaries, testimonials, and banquets honoring ethnic broadcasters, ethnic programs, or those produced for fund-raising purposes. (See Petlicka, 1969.) They are worth looking for!

Finally, we step from the bibliographical to the recording of information on tape or discs. We have heard from time to time of the existence of old recordings of ethnic broadcasts, some of which might well be found in the extensive sound archives of the Library of Congress. The many recordings made for this project are categorized in a number of ways, and are listed in the appendix to the present work. The tapes themselves are in the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress.

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CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL MATRIX

The year 1920 is of the greatest significance for the history of radio in the United States, for it was then that KDKA inaugurated its broadcasts from the Westinghouse plant in East Pittsburgh, thus setting an astonishingly fast-growing industry into motion. In that same year, R.C.A. placed its first order with General Electric for what David Sarnoff had some years earlier dubbed the "Radio Music Box" (the home radio).

Since our particular interest here is focussed on the intersections between radio and various American ethnic groups, it will be instructive to glance at the position of our immigrant population. In 1920, anti-foreign feeling ran high in many parts of the country:

> During the night of August 5, 1920, and all through the following day, hundreds of people laden with clothing and household goods filled the roads leading out of West Frankfort, a mining town in southern Illinois. Back in town their homes were burning. Mobs bent on driving every foreigner from the area surged through the streets. Foreigners of all descriptions were beaten on sight, although the Italian population was the chief objective. Time and again the crowds burst into the Italian district, dragged cowering residents from their homes, clubbed and stoned them, and set fire to their dwellings. The havoc went on for days, although five hundred state troopers were rushed to the scene. (Higham 1963, p. 264)

At the end of the 1970s, as the present work is nearing completion, and the notion of ethnicity and diversity is an acceptable one in the United States, it may be difficult for us to imagine the pressures of the early 1920s. The whole thing had been presaged at the end of the First World War and the attendant hysteria concerning Bolshevism. When the Immigration Bureau attempted to deport 39 alien Wobblies The New York Times rejoiced, called them "bewhiskered, ranting, howling, mentally warped, law-defying aliens" (quoted in Higham 1963, p. 229).

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920; in that same year, Henry Ford commenced his quixotic campaign against the "International Jew." The anti-Catholic, anti-foreigner Ku Klux Klan gained a new lease on life, acquiring 90,000 new members in 1920 and the first few months of 1921. At the same time, the theorists were busy explaining the baleful genetic and cultural effects of large-scale

immigration (in such works as Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild's The Melting-Pot Mistake, 1926). Radio, as we shall see, could not help but be involved in the matter, and the way in which it headed straight in the direction of cultural uniformity must be seen as a result, in large measure, of what was perceived as ethnic and regional chaos.

There is another relationship: the 1920s, obviously, were not years during which a "foreigner" felt especially at home in the United States. The conservatives who managed heavy industry, insurance, and banking would be unlikely to welcome ambitious young Greeks, Italians, or Jews into their managerial ranks. These persons, therefore, gravitated into newer industries; thus we have Louis B. Mayer and Spyros Skouras in the motion picture industry, A. P. Giannini, who started his own bank--and William Paley and David Sarnoff of broadcasting. One author has remarked of Paley that he "has harbored ambivalent feelings about his Russian-Jewish origins, which he does not advertise" (Metz 1976, p. 10). The time during which radio was born and waxed strong was not an era during which it was possible to become successful on a large scale by remaining in what was then seen as an ethnic enclave of one kind or another. Had Mayer, Paley, Sarnoff, Skouras, and later Ray Kroc elected to promote cultural material appertaining to their ethnic origins, they could have hardly reached the peaks of economic success. Ethnic radio, then, would have to exist in the interstices.

During the 1920s, a large portion of the technical and economic activity in radio revolved around the creation of networks, and this, of course, had a cultural impact far beyond what most people could imagine. By 1923, cooperation between the old-established Long Lines Department of A.T.&T. and the broadcasters had made it possible to broadcast regularly on a regional basis.

> If an opera is being broadcast from the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, the artists may be the finest in the world. Why then should people in other sections of the country who enjoy opera, have to listen to some mediocre program from a local station? (Radio Broadcast, vol. 3, July 1923, quoted in Banning 1946, p. 179)

Between 1927 and 1929, the CBS network grew from 16 to 60 stations (Metz 1975, p. 3). In 1927, the NBC network (soon to be split again into the Red and Blue networks) was inaugurated with a grand broadcast concert featuring Walter Damrosch, Mary Garden, Will Rogers, Vincent Lopez, the Goldman Band, and Tito Ruffo. It seems clear that the intent of this carefully planned program was to provide something for everybody, basing the plans on the premise that there existed a central core of music that represented a common cultural property of all Americans. The idea, ever since, has been just that: to provide something for everyone. This, of course, is antithetical

to both ethnic and regional broadcasting, each of which is aimed at a particular subsection of the general population.

The late Twenties and the Depression years were marked in radio history by a good many complex developments related, on the one hand, to an extraordinary proliferation of radio stations, and, on the other, to attempts by government and the networks to control the number of stations. This struggle was of course reflected in ethnic radio, which tended to be heard on small, non-network outlets. A case in point was the matter of WEVD, New York, which even today calls itself "The Station That Speaks Your Language." The call letters stand for the initials of Eugene V. Debs, and the first ownership of WEVD was the Social Democratic Party. The Federal Radio Commission was under great pressure to revoke the licenses of a good many stations throughout the country--including WEVD's. The station, for its part, issued the following defense of its right to exist:

> This station exists for the purpose of maintaining at least one channel of the air free and open to the workers. We admit without apology that this station has no deep concern with reporting polo matches. . . . We are not convinced that the public necessity dictates the broadcasting of descriptions of ladies' fancy dresses at receptions in Fifth Avenue ballrooms. . . . If WEVD is taken off the air and in fact is not treated on a parity with others who are richer and more influential with the government, the people of the nation can truly recognize that radio which might be such a splendid force for the honest clash of ideas--creating a free market for thought--is nothing but a tool to be used by the powerful against any form of disagreement or any species of protest. (Quoted in Barnouw, 1:216)

The World War II years marked the most complex period that ethnic radio had undergone. It was a time, again, during which there was great suspicion concerning "foreigners." In addition, there was a powerful effort to convince Americans that they belonged to a far-flung community of English-speaking peoples. There were many, of course, who did not agree.

John Roy Carlson (whose real name was Avedis Derounian) wrote a best-seller, Under Cover, in which he described his very often successful efforts to infiltrate various "Axis" organizations, including a number that made extensive use of radio broadcasting. Prominent among them was Father Charles Coughlin, whose broadcasts "over a national network" had been on the air since the early 1930s. More germane to our present topic was the use of radio to promote the concept of Einheitsfront ("United Front") among German-Americans

prior to World War II.

> Speaking on July 9, 1940, over a daily "German Hour" maintained by the [German-American] National Alliance its spokesman Walter H. Silge warned: "I have made it clear, time and time again, how urgent it is for every United States citizen of German descent to join the Einheitsfront, thus furthering cooperation among America's Germandom." (Carlson 1943, pp. 117-118)

By the time the United States entered the war, it was being widely proclaimed that radio was a "secret weapon."

> The secret is how to use it as a weapon. We still have not discovered that secret, nor has any other country. For all the ballyhoo about the power of radio on the psychological front, there is virtually no evidence to substantiate the claims that the microphone is as effective or as important a weapon as a bombing plane or a panzer division. (Dryer 1942, p. 36)

Four days after Pearl Harbor the National Association of Broadcasters urged the retention of foreign-language broadcasts, saying: "we believe it is of greatest importance that these people, who can best be reached in languages other than English, be kept reliably informed of developments as well as entertained, lest they turn to short-wave propaganda of the enemy" (Roucek 1945, p. 389). And of course there were millions of residents of the United States who were not sufficiently acquainted with English to profit from listening to English-language radio. Moreover, many of these persons, in addition to being deemed of questionable loyalty simply because they were "foreigners," suffered the additional handicap of having originated in states with which we were now at war (including not only Germany, Italy, and Japan, but also Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania).

In May 1942, the F.C.C. and the radio industry cooperated in the formation of the "Foreign Language Radio Wartime Control" (Roucek 1945, p. 390). We quote below the relevant sections from the "Code of Wartime Practices for American Broadcasters":

> Broadcasters have recognized that the loyalty of their personnel is of supreme importance in voluntary censorship; they recognize the dangers inherent in those foreign language broadcasts which are not under the control at all times of responsible station executives. Station managements, therefore, are requested to require all persons who broadcast in a foreign language to submit to the management in advance of broadcast complete scripts or transcriptions of such material, with an English

> translation. It is further requested that such material be checked "on the air" against the approved script, and that no deviation therefrom be permitted. These scripts or transcriptions with their translations should be kept on file at the station. (Dyer, 1942, p. 381)

In these rules, of course, we now recognize a bit of that xenophobia that has been so much a part of American life, and a shadow of that paranoia that resulted in the internment of the Japanese during the period. At the time, however, many observers found these measures to be justifiable:

> The German and Italian governments both set up special services to "aid" the announcers by furnishing them special news items and other Axis-slanted program material. This manipulation of information and propaganda worked to the detriment of our immigrant groups for years. Often deeply disappointed about their lot here, these aliens were prepared to listen to anti-democratic, pro-Fascist interpretations of the news and in course of time became embittered and frankly hostile. (Roucek 1945, p. 386)

If, however, we are to believe Roucek, no rules or regulations could serve to safeguard members of what he calls "national minorities" from "Axis propaganda and communication":

> Although the German and Italian program announcers were careful about the political implications of the news, the selection of the stories, and the editorial work done on the translations, the very emphasis of the announcers' voices gave definite slants to their bulletins. Furthermore, items from Axis sources were usually given in more detail, while those from the Allied capitals were often compressed into a few words or a single sentence. (Roucek 1945, p. 385)

In the present work, we have generally omitted reference to shortwave broadcasting; there is little evidence that it is a popular medium, and the image induced by the movies of a few persons huddled before a hidden set is probably not far off the mark. During World War II, of course, government agencies became interested in the extent of the audience; consequently, a number of studies appeared. The most intensive examinations, as we would expect, were of Germans and Italians in America. In every case, "the amount and extent of shortwave listening appeared to be small" (Roucek 1945, p. 387).

Barnouw gives a graphic description of "foreign language radio" during the early World War II years:

> The foreign-language stations, which in 1942 numbered more than a hundred, presented thorny problems. Some stations--WHOM, Jersey City, for example--carried broadcasts in as many as ten languages, and sold time through numerous "time brokers." No official at the station could understand half the programs it was broadcasting. The complexity of the problem was illustrated by the case of an Italian announcer at a foreign-language station who was said to echo Axis propaganda even when dutifully urging the purchase of United States war bonds. According to Variety, he promoted the bonds by urging the soundness of the investment: "These bonds are backed by the greatest 'have nation' in the world which has 85% of the world's gold opposed to the have-not nations." Democracy at some of these studios, Variety concluded, was paved with "slippery bananas." (Barnouw, 2:157)

Many observers expected that the post-World War II years would mark the end of ethnic broadcasting. (See, for example, Roucek 1945, p. 391.) Indeed, there were those who would gladly have helped ethnic radio to its grave, and considerately shoveled it out of sight. These seers, however, could not reckon in advance with the enormous continued influx of immigrants from all over the world following the war. Nor could they have seen that there would in time be a renewed interest in diversity.

There were, however, good reasons for predicting the quick demise of ethnic broadcasting. It is not a pretty story, and it is unnecessary to recapitulate it here. It had its roots, however, in the old nativism that assumed most "foreigners" to be somehow tainted with Bolshevism. Oddly enough, even the loyalty of those who came from Eastern Europe was put in question--though most of these persons were strongly opposed to the new regimes in the old countries. This, together with the feeling on the part of broadcast management that the "foreign-language" programs were outmoded as money makers, gave rise to a trend that still exists today: the curtailment or outright abandonment of ethnic programming.

> In September, 1947, radio station WBJK, Detroit, and radio station WBYN, Brooklyn, cancelled more than 20 foreign language programs. Radio stations WHOM, WWRL, WLIB, and WBNX, in the New York metropolitan area, to whom the sponsors of the cancelled programs went to buy time, either declared no time was available, refused outright in some cases, or avoided any explicit answer. Station WHOM, owned by Generoso Pope, publisher of Il Progresso, the Italian newspaper, stated that its present policy is to restrict its foreign language

> broadcasts to Italian. This station has cancelled two Polish language programs. WBNX has been deleting foreign language programs for the past year. (Konecky, p. 41)

In the post-World War II days, a number of new factors induced by international trends in migration began to alter the situation in ethnic broadcasting. For example, the increasing flow of persons from Asia (particularly the Indian subcontinent, the Philippines, and Korea) led to a demand for programs for members of these groups. Again, the enormous influx of European refugees (many of them urbanized and possessing higher educations) tended to create a new situation in ethnic broadcasting, for the linguistic, musical, and cultural tastes of the newcomers was markedly unlike what was appreciated by the immigrants of an earlier era and their children. Indeed, the presence of these newcomers caused the creation of new subgroups, and new programs (Fishman 1966, p. 37). Fishman points out that, in the case of Hungarian broadcasting in Cleveland, the older programs frequently included music performed by "a second or third generation singer" (Fishman 1966, p. 37). Persons who arrived in the United States following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 would not find such "old-fashioned" material suited to their taste.

As we come closer in our survey to the present, we discern the continuation of some older trends, such as the drying up of air-time available for ethnic programs. Radio broadcasting itself has changed markedly over the years, however--technically, economically, and in programming principles--and these shifts have left ethnic broadcasting largely unaltered, while in some ways bringing radio in general closer to the principles of ethnic broadcasting. Network broadcasting, once so popular, hardly exists nowadays, thus making radio in general and ethnic radio more alike in concept and transmission than was formerly the case. This, however, is by no means to say that regionalism and ethnic flavor have come into favor on most radio stations.

In his well-known book, The American Character, published as long ago as 1944, D. W. Brogan commented on the way the United States appeared to a British visitor:

> There is an apparent paradox in the contrast between the remarkable physical uniformity of American towns and their variations on the moral and psychological sides. Outside the South and the far West, the traveler getting off a train in the dark or driving into a town from the airport might well be in doubt as to what state, even what region, he was in. The towns look remarkably alike. (Brogan 1944, p. 97)

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Clearly, a traveler attempting to discover just where he was in the United States by listening to the radio, now or in 1944, would remain disoriented, even in the South or far West. Accents, styles, musical choices, and formats are very much the same throughout the country. Announcers all sound alike, and must be completely interchangeable. Any fair-sized geographical area is bound to have commercial stations featuring "Middle of the Road," "Top Forty," "Country Music," and "Religious." In addition, there is likely to be at least one public station, devoted mainly to "good" music and public affairs. By far the most common configuration for a radio station is "Middle of the Road": there are some 2,500 such in the United States (National Endowment for the Arts 1977, p. 63).

Two technical concepts that have gained wide currency on contemporary radio are automation and syndication, neither of which has found appreciable application on ethnic radio. A fully automated station can run for days without the intervention of any living person; frequently, moreover, the prerecorded voices of announcers and disc jockeys are not even locally taped, but are produced by syndication companies. Even the temperature report can be automated via a sensor on the roof of the station that shunts a prerecorded tape to its proper spot. As far as syndication itself is concerned, there is a wide variety of materials available from specialist corporations. "American Top Forty," produced by a Hollywood company called Watermark, is broadcast by about 400 stations. The formula is widely used in public radio, too: Karl Haas's "Adventures in Good Music" and the many programs produced by Parkway ("America's Fine Arts Broadcast Service") are cases in point (Melanson 1977, pp. 135-138).

Automation and syndication are popular with station operators because they save money on personnel, and, in the case of automation, provide a tax write-off that is unobtainable to the wage-paying station. Whatever their financial benefits may be, they seem to have no utility in ethnic broadcasting (Everett 1977, pp. 124-127).

Finally, we might note a tendency, still in its infancy, that may grow to larger proportions. This is the use, by ethnic producers, of public and non-profit stations as vehicles for their programs. There are obvious financial advantages because of the lower cost associated with these subsidized operations; at the same time, it is difficult to see how a producer can make very much money in this way. Nevertheless, if ethnic producers achieve the same sophistication in the "profitable" use of non-profit status as their brethren in other cultural enterprises, this device might well become a staple financial arrangement.

CHAPTER IV

THE CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL SETTING

Perhaps the most fundamental issues and questions of the present age have been put by persons with different concerns and insights in differing pairs of opposites: "small" versus "large"; "economic growth" versus "retrenchment"; "back to nature" versus "technological solutions"; the "global village" versus the real village; a unicultural "one world" versus a multicultural one. As it turns out, ethnic radio (far from being the cultural backwater that many thought it to be) is squarely in the middle of every manifestation of this controversy: the economic, the folkloristic, the linguistic, the musicological, the psychological, and so forth. By looking at it carefully, we may be able to discern some of the tendencies that will shape the future.

We might as well start by placing the matter in its broadest possible context: ethnic radio is one of numerous "old-fashioned" phenomena that are an obstacle to the development of the ideal world as envisioned by officials of multinational corporations, who would find it convenient to standardize and package culture as they would standardize systems of measurement. (Let us hasten to point out, before we are accused of simplistic thinking, that systems of measurement <u>are</u> integral parts of systems of culture. The duodecimal system of measurement, that some would replace with the metric system, is one of our significant links to the Mesopotamian roots of our cultural system.) If a cultural-economic phenomenon is not selected somehow for continued existence it must, like pounds, shillings, and pence, or, presumably, inches, feet, and yards, be laid to its eternal rest. But there is another possibility: <u>modification</u>. Here, a food with ethnic roots, say the hamburger or pizza, is standardized and mass-produced--presumably for everyone. One can immediately grasp the analogy to most radio, television, and the record industry.

"'It is a sad fact of life,' Bank America's President A. W. Clausen laments, 'that there is no such thing as a uniform global market.' Thus, he points out, Helene Curtis had to color its shampoo black to sell it in Thailand. . . . Nestle has to brew over 40 varieties of instant coffee 'to satisfy different national tastes.'" Language, too, is troublesome: "National linguistic peculiarities also frustrate world-wide advertising plans. General Motors's 'Body by Fisher,' <u>Business Week</u> reports, emerges as 'Corpse by Fisher' in Japanese" (Barnett and Muller 1974, p. 58).

> Those who guide the nation-states [reports the Chief Executive's Roundtable] are fearful that if the world economy is made more efficient and national borders

> are not allowed to impede the most efficient use of land, capital, labor, ideas, then the nation-state will have no reason to exist. (ibid., p. 59)
>
> Thus the frontal attack on the nation-state has been replaced by a subtler campaign against borders, cultural differences, [and] protectionism. (ibid., and see also Schiller 1969)

This attitude has been discernable since the very beginnings of commercial radio. On 8 February 1924 General J. J. Carty, the head of A.T.&T.'s Development and Research Department, spoke to the Bond Club of Chicago, and at the same time demonstrated a telephone circuit extending from San Francisco to Havana. He concluded his speech, which was broadcast in the United States, Cuba, and Canada, with the following words:

> We are only just beginning to appreciate how fundamental are electrical communications in the organization of society. We are as yet unable to appreciate how vital they are to the ultimate welfare of mankind. I believe that some day we will build up a great world telephone system, making necessary to all the nations the use of a common language, of a common understanding of languages, which will join all the people of the earth into one brotherhood. (Banning 1946, p. 199)

A.T.&T., of course, was the parent of WEAF, New York, famous in the annals of radio for being the first station to solicit and receive advertising.

Already at that time, then, the issue was joined, with the hope on the one hand, of a global system of communication, and of its national counterpart, the radio <u>network</u> (also pioneered by A.T.&T.) and, on the other, the localized and small-group doctrine practiced by producers of ethnic broadcasting. The differences are far more apparent even than this, however, and we must glance at them.

The creation of a far-flung <u>electronic</u> network usurps the place of other networks: local, family, and ethnic. In their place, it must seek to create and inculcate new allegiances totally opposed to the older ones. For radio, the single most important means is <u>age-based</u>, with stations arrayed according to the appeal that they make to preteens, teens, young adults, and so forth. The only large-scale concession to ideas that impinge on ethnicity is the proliferation of stations aimed at blacks and Hispanics, but even within these groups, there are appeals to age-based subgroups.

A large percentage of both the avowed advertising and the music played on most radio stations inculcates the idea that our highest duty is individual gratification: that we must find means in religion, in drugs, sex, or possessions to sooth and pamper ourselves. Out of an allegedly enormous number of choices, we are told, we can find the ones that express us. This, of course, runs very much counter to the ideas expressed in ethnic radio, where the assumption is that there is a working ethnic collectivity, with values and institutions that are found within the group itself, and that cut across age and class lines. There is an irreconcilable conflict here, with the "small tree" of ethnic radio proclaiming a doctrine that runs very much counter to what most of radio takes for granted.

In Alvin Toffler's widely touted book, Future Shock (published by Random House, a subsidiary of R.C.A.), he devotes a three-chapter section to "Diversity." Alarmed that there are those who fear an onrushing, ominous drying up of cultural choice, he denounces, of all people, Arnold Toynbee for the creation of what Toffler chooses to call a "Theory of Vanishing Choice," on the grounds that it rests on a "crude syllogism." Though I have been unable to discover any theory of that name in Toynbee's works, I assume that Mr. Toffler has in mind the passage in Toynbee's A Study of History, in which the latter author, seeking clues concerning the undeniable process of the "disintegrations of civilizations," says:

> We must ask whether . . . we can discern any master-tendency at work, and we do in fact unmistakably descry a tendency towards standardization and uniformity: a tendency which is the correlative and opposite of the tendency towards differentiation and diversity which we have found to be the mark of the growth stage of civilizations. . . .
>
> This contrast between the diversity of growth and the uniformity of disintegration is what we might have expected. . . . (Toynbee 1948, p. 555)

From this vantage point, attempts by officials of the multinational corporations to create ever more standardization are exemplars of the "disintegrations of civilizations." Toffler, for his part, sees things quite differently:

> The end of standardization is already in sight. (Toffler 1971, p. 265)
>
> We are moving not toward a futher extension of material standardization, but towards its dialectical negation. (ibid.)

> Automation . . . frees the path to endless, blinding, mind-numbing diversity. (ibid.)

He goes on to tell us (p. 299) that we face "a tempting and terrifying extension of freedom," mentioning a number of new subgroups in society, among them occupation, "fun" specialties, age-based subcultures, "marital tribes," and "hippies" (pp. 284-296, passim). Nowhere in the entire book is there any mention of ethnic diversity in the United States, now, or at any other time. This is important here, not because of Toffler's views, but because one suspects that they have achieved wide credence in the boardrooms of the corporations that control the electronic media. If we ask ourselves why this should be we find that there are two answers. The first is that it seemed easy and right, a half-century ago, when the electronic networks were a-building, to obliterate ethnic differences. In part this was due to the First World War, and to the desire for universal peace, and in part it was due to the pursuit of profits. The second reason has been cogently stated by Joshua Fishman:

> Many American intellectuals reveal particular ambivalence or hostility in connection with discussions--whether at a theoretical or applied level--concerning ethnic or ethno-religious participation in the United States. Many are themselves of second and third generation background. More than most Americans they are likely to have been "liberated" (intellectually and overtly, if not emotionally) from the claims and constraints of many primordial ties and biases. . . . The very completeness of their own divestment from ethnicity and religion may prompt all-or-none decisions between primordiality and modernity, between particularism and cosmopolitanism, to the end that reality is seriously misconstrued. (Fishman 1972, p. 20)

This process (though not, I think, the misapprehension of reality) is detailed with great clarity and self-insight in Norman Podhoretz's Making It (1967).

Toynbee, for his part, puts it even more forthrightly in his discussion of the "intelligentsia": "This liaison-class suffers from the congenital unhappiness of the hybrid who is an outcaste from both the families that have combined to beget him" (Toynbee 1948, p. 150).

We might sum up what has gone before by saying that for many years it has been socially and economically disadvantageous to hew to "primordial ties," and that the ambitious soon found that they must, if they would "advance," deracinate themselves. The ethnic broadcaster, of course, saw the matter differently: he chose to remain within the community, and was thus by some regarded as backward,

or at least old-fashioned. To the "futurist" he was somehow enmeshed in the following image:

> For the illiterate villager in an agricultural society of the past, most of the incoming messages were what might be called casual or do-it-yourself communications. The peasant might engage in ordinary household conversation, banter, cracker-barrel or tavern talk, griping, complaining, boasting, baby talk (and, in the same sense, animal talk), etc. This determined the nature of most of the coded messages he received, and one characteristic of this sort of communication is its loose, unstructured, garrulous or unedited quality. (Toffler 1971, p. 164)

This is a saddening passage, somehow, not only for its deep misunderstanding of the nature of communication, and its contempt for the "peasant," but more because we can be quite sure that the author is railing against his own past, his own ancestry, his own ancestral history.

There is one other way in which ethnic broadcasting (as part of the ethnic phenomenon) has been a confusingly inexplicable--hence unmentionable--matter for the intellectual and communications elites: it does not fit into the dualistic system of cultural categorization that constitutes so much of what nowadays passes for criticism. Most especially, it cannot be crammed into the niches called "High" or "Popular" culture--a great inconvenience.

> For about a century, Western culture has really been two cultures: the traditional kind--let us call it "High Culture"--that is chronicled in the textbooks, and a "Mass Culture" manufactured wholesale for the market. (This is the opening sentence of Dwight MacDonald's once influential "A Theory of Mass Culture," 1953.)

One is hard put to place the products of our various ethnic cultures into one or the other of these two ends of MacDonald's Procrustean culture bed, though we suspect, from reading another passage by this pandit, that he would have no hesitation concerning their provenience:

> The immigrants <u>were</u> the poor and tempest-tossed, the bottom-dogs of Europe, and for just this reason they were all too eager to give up their old-world languages and customs, which they regarded as marks of inferiority . . . . They were ready-made consumers of kitsch. (D. MacDonald, "Masscult and Midcult," quoted in Novak 1973, p. 192)

Whether this cultural "Theory" is in reality any more than the racialism of Chamberlain, Gobineau, and their followers in the United States is a question, for, on the "High Culture" side of the equation, we find Germans (for music), and Englishmen (for literature), leaving all other nations to roll around outside the Sanctum Sanctorum, gnashing their teeth and howling inchoately.

One other related matter needs discussion. Though it was distinctly unfashionable until nearly the end of the decade of the seventies to be "ethnic" or to espouse ethnic causes, a change has crept in, and the persons to whom Michael Novak sarcastically refers to as "The Saturday Ethnics from Professional Elites" have emerged on the scene with, however, little understanding (Novak 1973, p. 37). One is hard put to know just how long this presence will grace the table of ethnicity. "For who can know today what his or her feelings will say is right tomorrow?" (Novak 1973, p. 169). Again, as Mailer puts it in his essay, "The White Negro" (City Lights Books: undated, unpaged), "The overcivilized man can be an existentialist only if it is chic, and deserts it quickly for the next chic." During the summer of 1978, evidently deciding that ethnicity was chic--and possibly profitable--certain persons produced, and broadcast, on Saturday nights, a "serio-comic" ethnic show, heavy as a knish, in which monosyllabic Lithuanian Jews come to terms with America in four seemingly endless hours, complete with all-purpose accents, honey touches, and gestures reminiscent, in their grace and fluidity, of Charlie McCarthy. The dialogue can be hinted at by the following excerpt (spoken when the long-awaited wife, long isolated from her husband in New York, finally enters her new apartment in New York for the first time):

"Sol, running vader in de House. Yet?"

"Yes, Molly, bud ve pay eighteen dollar a mont."

In hoping to retrace, and exploit, the roots of immigrant families, the "Saturday Ethnics" produced a caricature, not even of ethnic life, but worse, of the old ethnic radio shows. In pre-television days, before radio had settled down to its mainly-music formula, many broadcasts featured ethnically stereotyped comedians, singers, and dramatic actors. In some instances such programs were direct outgrowths of the minstrel show tradition in which (as many seem to have forgotten) the comic immigrant was a staple buffoon. The best-known radio transformation of the minstrel show was undoubtedly "Amos 'n' Andy," which began life as "Sam 'n' Henry" on WGN, Chicago, in 1926. A sample of the dialect is this: "Wait a minute, heah! Whut is you doin? Is you mulsifyin or revidin?" (Metz 1975, p. 34). The ethnic comic was found at his most popular on Fred Allen's broadcast; from thence he moved to television where he is alive and well today.

Another highly popular ethnic program seems to have derived, rather, from Yiddish theater. In 1929, Gertrude Berg, who had written a number of scripts concerning a Jewish family in the Bronx, succeeded in interesting NBC, which hired her, not only as scriptwriter, but as star actress on "The Goldbergs." The program was unsurpassed for longevity if nothing else: it was broadcast on radio for twenty years and then made a successful transition to television, where it remained popular for another decade. Ben Gross (who spent many years as radio and television critic of the Daily News) speaks of the "The Goldbergs" as follows:

> "The Goldbergs" along with "Amos 'n' Andy" was the first program to prove that a series devoted to a minority people, treated in a sympathetic manner, could become popular on the radio. In the Twenties and Thirties there were many broadcasters who argued that a mass audience would not give serious consideration to a group of characters unless they were Anglo-Saxon, of the upper middle class, and preferably of some Protestant religious denomination. A Jew, Italian, or Negro could very well be presented as a "character" but certainly not as a hero or even in a "straight" role. (Gross 1954, p. 123)

Gross, writing in the early 1950s, could hardly have been aware of the style and content of the average soap opera on television today, yet his description of broadcasters' ideas as to what constituted an acceptable ethnic style are completely apt today on television soap operas.

The ethnic broadcaster, whether he be the manager of a multiethnic station, who must routinely and daily accommodate himself to the styles and demands of a staff consisting of members of as many as 35 ethnic groups, or the producer who must live at close quarters with his listeners, would find the idea of a high-falutin "Good-Bad" grid for culture both ludicrous and unworkable. The paradox is, that although the ethnic broadcaster has had the temerity to thrust his head into the lion's den of the communications industry, he is generally ignored by its tastemakers and pundits, just as he is overlooked by space-buyers and rating services.

The only significant point of agreement between the self-proclaimed "futurist" and the ethnic broadcaster is that both perceive the need for subgroupings in an otherwise monolithic society. It is not easy, however, to reconcile the idea, on the one hand, that these subgroups ought to consist of surfers, teeny-boppers, and marital tribes, or, on the other, Polish, Irish, Jewish, or Greek Americans.

It is obvious that a primary function of ethnic broadcasting is to create and strengthen networks that bind together a locally

based ethnic community. Feedback is an integral part of this concept, as it is not part of most broadcasting. By the same token, the ethnic broadcaster is closely allied to--indeed part of--the small business scene, in which, after all, one can survive economically only by being responsible for one's products. Everyone in the ethnic community knows the ethnic radio person, and he can get away with nothing that offends the community. This, again, is far from the case in the generally impersonal, star-studded world of broadcasting.

But paradoxical, gradual, and unfelt changes in direction abound in human affairs, and it is now the moguls of broadcasting who preach the message of diversity in radio and television. Why? The emergent technologies of satellite-to-home communication, cable, and the videotape disc have made change certain. Thus, Mr. Wasilewski, head of the National Association of Broadcasters, was recently quoted as showing concern that the new technology could "crush" "localism" in broadcasting (Broadcasting, 4 April 1977, p. 25). Eironeia!

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

It must by now be clear that the overwhelming concern of ethnic broadcasters in every corner of the country is economic: every one of the dozens of conversations we had with producers and station management turned almost immediately to this topic--and stayed there. We have attempted to show that the cultural and economic situations are inextricably intertwined; nonetheless, we must probe the economic area separately.

For many years, much has been made of the vaunted ability of large organizations to maintain economic viability more easily than small ones; giant industrial and service organizations, we have been told, produce better products and services cheaper than small businesses. Recently, an assortment of economists (lead by Schumacher), social critics, and entrepreneurs has questioned every aspect of the older canon. However we weigh these opposing ideologies, there is no doubt that until now at least, the preponderant economic force remains with proponents of bigness.

To the ethnic broadcaster, the argument possesses a somewhat scholastic nature, for several very good reasons:

1. Bigness is a concept possessing no merit in the eyes of the ethnic broadcaster, or any ethnic entrepreneur, because he deals, by necessity and predilection, with a small minority of a population that is made up of small minorities.

2. No huge enterprise producing, let us say foodstuffs, can possibly satisfy the taste of members of even a dozen ethnic groups--not to say fifty.

3. Ethnic broadcasting, as we have always known it, is localized, drawing listeners as the bells of the village church once drew worshipers from the immediate neighborhood.

4. Ethnic broadcasters seem always to be congenitally stubborn and tough-minded, small entrepreneurs and individualists, none of whom is able to say, in William Whyte's classic phrase, "Love That System" (Whyte 1956, p. 243).

What economic problems does the small ethnic broadcaster face? Producers constantly mention three:

1. The impossibility of obtaining any national advertising, or even ads from large local corporations.

2. Constantly increasing rates at the stations.

3. Being left without broadcast outlets as stations constantly and restlessly change format, management, and ownership.

Just as the proponent of the multinational corporation discerns an intimate relationship between the economic and cultural situations, the ethnic broadcaster notices a close tie-in. His culturo-economic reasoning is that he bears a heavy share of the burden for maintaining his ethnic community in a healthy condition, and that he cannot do this unless he has a microphone available to him regularly. (This is hardly arguable!)

How accurate are the complaints of ethnic producers? Though they are reluctant to discuss hourly rates with stations, we can hardly doubt an astronomical increase in rates in recent years. As far as losing outlets is concerned, we devote attention elsewhere in this study to the partial or complete demise of ethnic broadcasting in such representative cities as Cleveland, Modesto, San Francisco, and Pittsburgh. In all cases, management acquired a devotion to format broadcasting of one kind or another; in every case, management complained that its ratings were low. The producers' quite reasonable reply is that rating services are not geared to the collections and analysis of figures for programs of their type, and that, in any case, they have devoted audiences who believe what they say and buy whatever is advertised on their programs.

As to the ethnic producers' first contention, that large and national advertisers ignore them totally, there is no doubt whatever that they are correct: in hundreds of hours of listening to, and producing ethnic radio, I have <u>never</u> heard an ad for an organization larger than a local savings and loan association. This, of course, is not true of Spanish-language or black radio, except in the case of such ethnic programs as West Indian, Columbian, or Dominican.

The economic reasoning behind the rejection of ethnic radio as a proper medium for large advertisers is based on the idea that one mass-produced ad heard by a majority of the population is far superior to individualized appeals to smaller groups. And again, we must stress that it is not perceived as being in the interest of

mass-appeal products to stress diversity. The extent to which anti-ethnic prejudice enters into the matter is difficult to show conclusively, one way or the other. One highly-regarded ethnic producer in New York told me, however, that on his visits to advertising agencies, he received a definite impression that he was thought of as a "stupid Bulgarian." There is little doubt that his contention is correct. Though I am unaware of studies of anti-ethnic discrimination as it affects the advertising and media communities, I am aware of investigations regarding the academic profession, banking in Buffalo, and board membership of selected Fortune 500 corporations. These indicate that, for whatever reasons, the number of southern and eastern European ethnics in positions of responsibility is very, very low.

At the same time, black and Spanish stations seem to have little difficulty attracting advertisers, and one can hardly suppose that members of these groups are accorded more than token status in the above-mentioned occupations. But both of these markets can be treated as mass-markets; both are perceived as growing at a phenomenal rate, both in purchasing power and in absolute numbers.

But the apparent disadvantage of the ethnic broadcaster may turn out in the long run to be quite the opposite, for there are several paradoxes to be investigated. Perhaps the most persuasive instance is the matter of what, following the titling of Erle Stanley Gardner, we might call "The Case of the Miami Chicken." Chicken, cooked Cuban style, is a very different foodstuff from that hapless bird as it appears on an "American" table. Almost the only common ingredient is the chicken; the single cooking technique shared is the use of a frying-pan. Now, the Colonel Sanders chain is a frequent advertiser on Cuban radio in Miami, and we must presume that they do this for good economic reasons. To the extent that a Miami Cuban succumbs to the blandishments of the Colonel, he ceases to follow the Cuban tradition. Moreover, when he drinks Dr. Pepper (as he is frequently urged to do) he ingests less in the way of traditional Cuban drinks based on fruits. As the process continues, and is amplified and swollen by the addition of ever-increasing competitors, he presumably becomes less Cuban--and finally ceases to listen to Cuban radio at all! This is quite obviously a complex, delicately balanced matter that, if examined here in detail, would push us into extremely difficult questions in acculturation, assimilation, and syncretism. We can do little more than note that the participation of major advertising may well prove to be a two-edged sword.

At the same time, however, a rule that is applicable to such culturally important products as foodstuffs and drinks loses much of its validity when applied to refrigerators, stoves, sinks, and automobiles. But, even here, there is a caveat, for the small appliance dealer who advertises on ethnic radio does not have the capability

to seek time on network television or glossy magazines. He is therefore at an immediate competitive disadvantage in comparison to such retailing giants as Sears and Montgomery Ward. Advertising on an ethnic broadcast, therefore, is of much more importance to him than to one of these behemoths.

We have said that almost all advertisers on ethnic radio programs are small, local enterprises. What are these enterprises? Let us examine a list of representative programs.

1. "Grecian Melodies," WWQT, Dunedin, Florida. Local merchants; many restaurants; bakers; automobile dealers; grocers; service stations.

2. "Hellenic Hour," WTAQ, LaGrange, Illinois. Savings and loan association; Krinos food products; Fix beer; Buick dealer.

3. "Indian Program," WTAQ, LaGrange, Illinois. Indian films; Indian concert; travel agency; luggage store; Air-India.

4. "Middle East Melodies," WMZK, Detroit. Soft-drink manufacturer; meat-market; night club; Arabic film; concert; furniture store; contractor.

5. "Armenian Echoes," WHBI, New York. Armenian restaurant; movie; garage; funeral director; Armenian Club; Couple's Club of Armenian cathedral.

6. "Musical Smorgasbord," WHBI, New York. Cruise; Christenson's Bakery; Greenpoint Savings Bank (the branch in the main Scandinavian neighborhood); Finnair.

7. "LeHaym to Life," WEVD, New York. Haagen-Dazs ice cream; American Cancer Society (public service); insurance agent; caterer; Rumanian restaurant; kosher food products.

8. "Irish Holiday U.S.A." KFAX, San Francisco. Irish car-rental firm; travel agency; giftshop; restaurant.

We see, then, that the only large-scale enterprises advertising on ethnic radio are the national airline companies like Air-India and Finnair (and other airlines as well). Indeed, Air-India seems to have a definite policy of encouraging ethnic programs through advertising, and even through grants that allow Indian programs to be heard on public stations. The only other instance known to me of the total subsidy, by a large corporation, of an ethnic program on

public radio is an Irish Hour broadcast over KQED, San Francisco, and "presented by a grant from the Bank of America."

Airline advertising, to my knowledge, is totally confined to non-American carriers; and there can be little doubt that such organizations as Pan-American, TWA, and Northwest Orient lose, as a result, a certain amount of business to China Airlines, CSA, Aer Lingus, Finnair, Olympic Airways, and Air-India.

We have indicated that Spanish-language radio differs to a considerable extent from the pattern that we discern for most ethnic programming. We might give a few examples, highlighting the large corporations:

1. "Radio Mexicana," KBSO, Espanola, New Mexico. Olympia Beer; Rainbow Bread; furniture stores; automobile dealers; record store.

2. Unnamed programs, KPNO, Denver. McDonald's; Bell System; various local enterprises.

3. Unnamed program, WADO, New York. Lysol; Goya Foods; Kellogg Cereals; Cookin' Good Chicken.

It ought to be evident that the only Spanish-language broadcasting that acquires national advertising is that which is ethnically undifferentiated: merely broadcasting in the Spanish language. To make this quite clear we might look at the roster of ads heard over a Spanish ethnic broadcast emanating from New York:

> "La Voz del Ecuador," WHBI, New York. Ecuadorian grocer; Ecuadorian restaurants; travel agent; physician catering to Ecuadorians.

A middle ground is occupied by certain Acadian programs broadcast in the area comprising and surrounding Lafayette, Louisiana. We might cite the following example:

> Unnamed program, KSIG, Crowley, Louisiana. Old Milwaukee Beer; meat market; political advertising; nightclubs playing Cajun music; Schlitz Beer.

Both beer ads were jingles--in English. In the case of this station, the broadcaster was not an independent producer responsible for bringing in his own advertising; he was, instead, a regular employee of the station, and was merely playing ads that had been solicited by the management of the operation.

Whether the advertiser on ethnic broadcasts is small, medium or (infrequently) large, he is almost certain to sell a service or product that has especial appeal to members of a particular ethnic group, or that somehow evokes ethnic pride. (Puch mopeds advertises extensively on German language radio.) The large operations, we have seen, consist almost entirely of national airlines; the small ones of local businesses. What of the medium-sized ones? These seem to be mainly producers of ethnic foods: we have noted instances of advertising by Goya canned goods and dried products (Spanish); Krinos foods (Greek); Achaia Klaus wines (Greek); and Fix beer (Greek). One suspects that additional advertising revenue might be obtained from such organizations and their rivals, since not only Goya, for instance, but a good many other companies, including Progresso foods, sell such competing goods as, say, canned chick-peas.

The normal chain of middlemen involved with advertising in the radio industry includes, at the most basic level, the station's advertising sales representative, "who calls on the advertiser and sells him the time" (Summers and Summers 1966, p. 110). In other instances the process is handled by an advertising agency, which buys time for its clients. This method, by the way, is by no means confined to national advertisers; a good percentage of local space is bought by advertising agencies. Another important link in the chain is the so-called "station rep"; this is a concern that represents a large number of stations, selling time to advertisers for a 15% commission. For the most part, this entire assemblage is by-passed by ethnic broadcasters, who, most often, buy their time directly from a station, and solicit their own advertisers. (Very often, of course, the producer operates another business, such as a travel agency or record store; and his radio activities help sustain and promote his other enterprises.) The present system of advertising on ethnic radio, then, is built on a network consisting of the ethnic businessman, the producer (now acting as time-broker, advertising agency, and salesman), and finally the station.

Not all stations operate entirely on a system of expecting the ethnic producer to purchase his own time and solicit his own advertising. In certain instances the producer is not charged for his air-time, but rather, is paid a commission on ads.

How lucrative is ethnic broadcasting? Since it is well known that no businessman admits that business is good, it is difficult to obtain glowing testimonials to the economic health of ethnic radio and television. Clearly, too, the health of one program is unrelated to the situation of another; the situation of a given ethnic group at a particular point in time is one factor; such matters as large population influx (as in the case of the Greeks) or heightened ethnic consciousness (as in the case of the Hungarians, Irish, and Armenians) clearly have a profound influence on the matter.

Sometimes, there is a double influx, as in the following instance. In recent years, there has been a very large movement of Greeks to Canada and the United States, and there has been an equally impressive trend away from the northeast into the so-called Sun-Belt. This has resulted, in the case of the Tampa Bay area, in a dramatic increase in the number of persons of Hellenic extraction, both directly from the mother country, and from the northern United States. Tarpon Springs has acted as a magnet, attracting even second-generation Greeks. The result, on ethnic radio, is the existence of two competing Sunday programs, each of which periodically increases its air-time, and each of which is chock-a-block with ads.

There are other factors. For reasons that are not at all well understood, some ethnic groups gravitate towards small business, and thus become prime targets for ethnic advertising. (Armenians, Arabs, and Greeks are examples.) Moreover, there is sometimes a considerable ethnic crossover; one broadcaster told me that 25% of the listeners to the Greek programs in New York are non-Greeks who enjoy the music. And Jan Petlicka, of the "Czechoslovak Radio Hour" (WPOW AM, New York), told me that a large proportion of his listeners are non-Czech or Slovak.

Certain producers, given the right conditions, are able to make full-time occupations of their radio activities. Alan Collins of WHBI FM, which serves the New Jersey-New York area, told me that some of the Italian and Greek broadcasters are employed full-time and do very well at it. In other instances, of course, it is a break-even proposition, done only for the love of it, and in some cases it represents a loss. Everyone concerned agrees, however, that the main and constant preoccupation of ethnic broadcasters is to serve their communities.

Finally, the proprietor of a station in Philadelphia, who thinks that ethnic radio is on the upswing, gave me the following up-beat statement: "Ethnic radio is a good way to make a living, and a good way to serve minority groups."

The principal difficulty, then, is the change of format that has overwhelmed so many stations in recent years. In more than one instance, ethnic entrepreneurs told me that they had been aware of stations for sale that would have been suitable ethnic vehicles, but that a kind of "red-lining" made it impossible for them to find sufficient money. One extremely successful ethnic media person told me that he and his associates had gone to the Small Business Administration with a request for help in raising $300,000. In his words, the response was: "For that kind of license [ethnic broadcasting], we don't give money!"

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It is clear, then, that for most producers the benefits of ethnic broadcasting tend to be found in opportunity for community service; if there are financial attractions, they are likely to be indirect. Steffanides, in his autobiography, discusses the financial benefits of his program "Hellenic Dawn," started in 1936. He, like many of his compatriots, became a broadcaster partly by accident, and partly to advertise his principal business, the Lesbos Agora. He found, after he had been on the air for a few weeks, that his "business began to show an appreciable increase." But with this he discovered other benefits, because many listeners sent in "paid announcements and advertisements, which soon overburdened the fifteen minutes allotted to our part of the program" (Steffanides 1974, p. 113).

The ethnic broadcaster who is a retailer of one kind or another, then, is often in a position in which broadcasting confers certain financial benefits. But what of the person who is a civil servant, a banker, an engineer? Such individuals have been described by Fishman: "As is true of the press, the [Hungarian] radio programs are not really profitable business ventures. They are sustained by the devotion and sense of duty of a very few who seek no adequate financial compensation for their efforts" (Fishman 1966, p. 37).

How do such broadcasters find the wherewithal that enables them to sustain their programs? In addition to the dogged and constant pursuit of advertisers, producers rely upon other means. Dr. Victor Molnar, a dentist and producer of the "Hungarian Hour" broadcast weekly over WEDO, McKeesport, Pennsylvania, issues a monthly mimeographed newsletter containing songs, recipes, discussions of conditions in Hungary, and telling his listeners where they can buy Hungarian wines, good-quality paprika, and so on. Corinne Kadiar, of the Pittsburgh "Arabic Hour," brings financial succor to her program by cooperating with leaders in the Arab community in planning and executing a yearly benefit Hafli for funding purposes. Many other programmers have similar methods.

Other, more fortunate broadcasters have been able to garner support from various fraternal organizations. A portion of the Pittsburgh "Irish Hour" is sustained by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Croatian Fraternal Union subsidizes at least one broadcast. Evidently, however, few ethnic producers have succeeded in persuading the fraternals to help them. For those persons--and indeed for most of their brethren--the proprietorship of a program is a constant, unremitting struggle requiring enormous fortitude and ingenuity.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING AS ETHNIC BROADCASTING

The time is 9:15 a.m.; the date, 28 July 1978; the place, Tarpon Springs, Florida. Twisting the dial of a small table-top radio, a listener picks up eight religious broadcasts, all of them presented by fundamentalist Protestant denominations. These programs, from the perspective of American religious diversity, range very narrowly, doctrinally and liturgically. One is a musical program, consisting of recordings made by professional choirs and singers; another emanates from a Pentecostal church in Tampa; a third is a syndicated broadcast called "Bible Radio;" a fourth, hosted by an English Pentecostal minister, is a call-in program. Question: "Was Paul ever married?" Answer: "The evidence is that he was not married." Question: "Could you tell me how I can get rid of fear?" Answer: "Fear doesn't come from God, but from Satan. Hallelujah." Question: "Will the test-tube baby have a soul?" Answer: "Yes. The word 'test-tube' is a misnomer."

The phenomenon of religious broadcasting is one of the fastest-growing segments of the American broadcasting industry, both on television and radio. At present, the Christian Broadcasting Network (which broadcasts "The 700 Club") has an income estimated to be about 50 million dollars a year. (This, of course, is more effective than the same amount would be in a secular situation, because "The 700 Club," like other religious institutions, claims a tax-exempt status.) When we add to this the activities of Oral Roberts, Rex Humbard, and Jim Bakker (of the "PTL Club"--PTL stands for "Praise the Lord"), it becomes obvious that we are dealing with very large sums indeed.

Religious broadcasting possesses certain charms for the commercial broadcaster as well:

> Religion: This is a field of specialization that requires a minimum of manpower to operate. Those successfully programming this way receive 15-minute or 1/2-hour tapes or ETs from outside program sources. Therefore clearance and traffic become important. Most business is composed of long-term contacts to take advantage of frequency discounts and to hold a particular time segment. Client pay is fairly regular. (Hoffer 1968, p. 119)

This means that local stations acquire ready-made tapes or recordings made by the production agencies of such denominations as the Southern Baptist Convention, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, or the Seventh Day Adventists, which buy time from the individual stations. Very often, the stations that feature ethnic material also specialize in religious broadcasting, in the belief presumably, that they appeal to a traditionalist audience.

Another linkage between ethnic and religious programming is that, as more than one specialist in religious sociology has shown, there is a close and enduring relationship between the ideas of ethnicity and religiosity in America. Thus, the broadcasts of the Southern Baptist Convention are Anglo-Celtic in their roots and attitudes toward worship and theology. This church (and other Protestant denominations as well) represent an ethnic tradition every bit as much as do the Eastern Orthodox, but we have been conditioned to accept the one as "normal" and the other as "exotic." Religious broadcasting inculcates an ethnic style: in form of worship, and especially in music.

Finally, several religious organizations make earnest efforts to prosyletize among members of the Catholic and Orthodox communions. Certain fundamentalist denominations evidently regard these Christians to be so wide off the mark in doctrine that they make sustained, determined, and expensive efforts to reach them. Such programs--missionary efforts, really--are designed to bring the evangelical message to churched and unchurched alike. Thus, the proselytizing denomination must use languages other than English in both its domestic and international activity.

In the course of our visit to Los Angeles, we had the opportunity to learn something about the activities of one such organization, "The Voice of Prophecy." In a number of locations throughout the United States, we had from time to time heard broadcasts in several languages, attributed to "The Voice of Prophecy," Box 55, Los Angeles, California; thus, we determined to learn what we could about it.

What is "The Voice of Prophecy," and how does it operate? At the time during which we visited it, it was located in Glendale, California, in a large, busy building crammed with offices, storage space, and studios. "The Voice of Prophecy" is an organization of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, though no particular stress is laid on this affiliation in the literature and broadcasts produced by the Adventists. Rather, it is described as "A Christian Outreach." "The Voice of Prophecy" is a complex organization, engaged in a number of complementary activities, including publishing, the production and sale of books, pamphlets, and phonograph records, the creation of radio spot announcements, a home-study school of religious instruction, and the production of radio broadcasts in a number of languages.

In the summer of 1977, the Voice of Prophecy organization broadcast, in the United and States and Canada, in eleven languages in addition to English and Spanish: Dutch, Filipino, German, Greek, Japanese, Navajo, Portuguese, Russian, Samoan, Ukrainian, and "Yugoslavian." The programs were broadcast in stations in fourteen

states and six Canadian provinces. The English-language material is aired in all fifty states, the District of Columbia, and all of the Canadian provinces, often over such highpowered stations as WOR, New York, and WWVA, Wheeling. Since such stations are utilized at night, "The Voice of Prophecy" can be heard sometimes more than a thousand miles from its transmitter. By contrast, the non-English material is usually placed on low-powered or FM stations that broadcast primarily to ethnic communities. Thus habitual listeners to these stations do not need to search the dial for "The Voice of Prophecy"; it is presented to them as part of their normal, comfortable sonic environment.

A staple feature of the programs is the gospel music sung by a male quartet, "The King's Heralds," which, though its personnel has varied over the years since 1937 (when it was founded), has maintained an essential continuity and close relation to the program. (One of its original members, Bob Edwards, is now the producer of the series.) Though the tunes and style do not vary from normal gospel performance, "The King's Heralds" have learned to sing in numerous languages, including Japanese, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, and Ukrainian. Indeed, they have made LP records in several languages on the organization's house label, Hosanna House records.

The Voice of Prophecy organization maintains a monthly newspaper, from which we learn a good deal about the operation of the programs. Though much of this is beyond our present scope, since it deals with the extensive short-wave and overseas activities of the Adventist broadcasting organization, there is often a report on domestic matters:

> The potential listening audience of two million Greek-speaking people in North America is currently presenting a tremendous challenge to the Greek Voice of Prophecy.
>
> On a recent visit to the United States, Greek Voice of Prophecy speaker Nick Germanis said, "We were impressed again and again with the need to do more for the Greek people of North America. We feel that our best avenue is through the radio ministry."
>
> The Greek broadcast is currently heard on four stations: WTAQ, La Grange, Illinois; WHBI-FM, New York; CHIN-FM, Toronto; and CFMB, Montreal. Pastor Germanis reports that opportunities exist for the broadcast to also be heard in such cities as Oakland, Boston, Tampa, Detroit, Seattle, and Cleveland. . . .

> From studios in Athens, Pastor Germanis records the messages for the weekly broadcasts. He describes the format as "more of an informal talk than a sermon." After a great deal of experimenting he has discovered that this plan seems to be the most effective way of reaching a Greek audience. (The Voice of Prophecy News, October 1978, p. 13)

"The Voice of Prophecy," though it is small in comparison to the Christian Broadcasting Network, is nevertheless a large organization. In a release made available to me, it was said that it received nearly a half-million letters in the course of a year; that it published nearly 19,000,000 "pieces of print ministry during 1975"; that it had a staff, during that year, of 160; that its budget was $4.1 million. The programs first went on the air in 1930, nearly a half-century ago. (For further historical information on "The Voice of Prophecy" see Casson 1974 and Edwards 1975.)

In the course of assembling material for this project, we were able to record 22 religious broadcasts. (These are listed in Index IV.) Although the division we are about to suggest is by no means hard-and-fast, it seems that religious broadcasts fall into two categories. The first is typified by "The Voice of Prophecy"; programs of this type actively proselytize, seeking persons who are either unchurched or members of another communion. In the second case, the sponsoring organization intends to appeal mainly to members of its own ethnic/religious subgroup; although conversion is perhaps not unwelcome, it is a side issue. The main thing is to provide radio communication to persons who already have a relationship to the sponsoring denomination.

Programs of the first type are very often sponsored by such organizations as the Southern Baptist Convention or (as we have seen) the Seventh Day Adventists. The format is quite rigorous, with a pastoral message and gospel music. In both instances the text is delivered in the native language of the listeners, but the music is pure gospel style, and the sermon pure fundamentalist Christianity. No concessions are made to the style of music that the group receiving the broadcast is used to, nor is the sermon adjusted to its listeners' backgrounds. The main targets for these endeavors are Spanish-speaking persons, presumably of Catholic background, and such southern and eastern European groups as Estonians, Greeks, Portuguese, Russians, and Ukrainians. Three of these, of course, are primarily Orthodox in faith (or in liturgy only: Ukrainians are either Orthodox or Eastern Rite Catholic); the others are normally Catholic. If we were to wonder why the shoe is not put on the other foot, why, in other words these Christians do not themselves proselytize, seeking converts from within the ranks of fundamentalist Christianity, we would be raising a difficult subject. The Greek church, at one time in its

long history, was a proselytizing church, whose missionaries Christianized most of eastern Europe in centuries past. But, in the United States, the Orthodox churches have seen their primary roles as guardians of the spiritual and cultural life of the members of their separate ethnic groups. Membership, hence, is largely confined to members of that group (and adherents through marriage).

Programs of the second type, as we might expect, are far more diverse in content. In some cases, they are simply live broadcasts of the Sunday worship services. A case in point is the Ruthenian liturgy, sung in Old Church Slavonic, and broadcast weekly from various churches of the Ruthenian Diocese of Pittsburgh (WLOA 1a). A very different program is "The Voice of Orthodoxy," which is aired weekly over WMZK, Detroit. It is presented by the Bluebird Baking Company on behalf of one particular Greek Orthodox congregation, Assumption Church, in St. Clair Shores, Michigan. Music is provided by the church choir, and other inspirational material is spoken by the Pastor, Father Demetrios Cavafis. A large proportion of the broadcast is spoken in Greek, but late in the program there is a question and answer period in English. Here persons with ethical or religious questions address them to the pastor, who answers them according to Orthodox doctrine.

"The Italian Catholic Hour," described by its producer as "religious and educative," emanates from Saint Peter's Catholic Church, Los Angeles (KTYM 4a). Like "The Voice of Orthodoxy," it combines choral music and chant with material spoken by the church's Pastor, Father DaManzane. The program that I recorded included also a talk on the dangers of such drugs as hashish and marijuana.

"Le Haym to Life" (WEVD 2) is broadcast on Fridays by Cantor David Schiff, who announces and sings religious music. The program is interspersed with commercial announcements, by such advertisers as Haagen-Dazs ice-cream. Indeed, "Le Haym to Life" is not a strictly religious program, for it also includes secular songs in Yiddish.

The Scandinavian Salvation Army program (broadcast over WTAQ in the Chicago area) is broadcast to a large potential audience, since there are more than 200,000 persons of Norwegian birth or extraction, and 300,000 of Swedish birth or descent in the Chicago area (Jens Lund, writing in American Folklife Center 1978, pp. 306, 401). Lund, in his excellent chapter, "Scandinavian-American Traditions in Chicago," tells us:

> Although there are numerous Swedish-founded churches in Chicago (including at least nine in the Andersonville area), none of them, except for the Andersonville Salvation Army Corps, hold Swedish-language services, and even they do so only once a month. Unlike the Danes and

> Norwegians, Swedish pietists typically broke from the Lutheran Church, and thus there are Swedish-founded churches of the Baptist, Methodist, and Salvation Army persuasions. (American Folklife Center 1978, p. 402)
>
> The Salvation Army, although essentially a British and U.S. organization, has always been active among Scandinavian immigrants, and has even achieved a substantial following in Scandinavia itself, particularly in Norway and Sweden. This may be due to its reputation for social welfare work, its theological similarity to the evangelical/fundamentalist functions of the Lutheran churches or its alcoholic rehabilitation work. The Andersonville Salvation Army Corps is staffed primarily by Scandinavians. Scandinavian-language services are held in its headquarters and are broadcast on a weekly radio program. This program is also the only radio show which still broadcasts general news in Scandinavian languages in the Chicago area. (ibid., pp. 398-399)

The program consists of a spoken message to the congregation, songs sung by them, and music recorded in the mother-countries.

Another program provided by the Scandinavian community is broadcast in New York over WHBI by "The Young Peoples Society of the 66th Street Church." This organization is on 66th Street in Brooklyn, in a largely Norwegian section of that city. The Church is Evangelical rather than Lutheran, thus reflecting again the situation as Lund explains it. The content of the broadcast consists of a message from the Pastor, recorded songs, and messages concerning church activities. Except for a very brief identification in English, the entire program is presented in Norwegian. Many of the song-melodies are familiar to English-speaking evangelical Christians, but an occasional one is provided with a Norwegian church melody.

Religious ethnic broadcasting, then, is a tangled, complex segment of the burgeoning religious broadcasting phenomenon. Its divergent purposes include conversion, proselytizing, and cultural-religious maintenance. In certain cases, no doubt, another motive is the service of older members of ethnic congregations, who are frequently nowadays isolated at a considerable distance from their congregations.

We have indicated that religious television is a rapidly growing component of that medium, and there is a certain amount of ethnic-religious TV as well. KEMO, San Francisco, for example, presents both a Spanish and an Italian Mass each Sunday. The Italian one, which is televised at 10:00 a.m., was described in TV Guide in the following words: "KEMO also has its own Catholic priest, known affectionately as 'Father Efrem.' 'He's an Italian guy who says a

Mass live from the studio on Sunday,' Crosby said. [Crosby is the owner of KEMO.] 'He has the altar and the altar boys, and on Sunday this place is filled with people going to Mass" (Finnigan 1977).

About 362 radio stations in the United States specialized in religious broadcasting in the mid-1970s (National Endowment for the Arts 1977, p. 63). Nearly all of these organizations confine themselves to the presentation of a blend of inspirational music and talk designed to appeal to such fundamentalist groups as Baptists. Since there are some 21,000,000 Baptists in the United States, this is a wise choice for station management. Moreover, one study shows that, while "Protestants are far more likely than any other category to listen to religious broadcasts" (Johnstone 1971-1972, p. 93), "Baptists and members of smaller fundamentalist denominations listen to religious broadcasts much more often than, say, Presbyterians or Episcopalians" (ibid.).

There, of course, are two ways of looking at this study: the first is that only Baptists listen to radio; and the second is that members of other denominations do not listen because they do not find the musical or theological material relevant or familiar. After all, the gospel songs and hymns that constitute so large a portion of most religious broadcasting are now, and have been for centuries, intertwined with the ethnic musical traditions of the Anglo-Celtic peoples of the United States. By the same token, Byzantine chant is part of the fabric of Greek secular music. Will Herberg, writing two decades ago, came to this conclusion:

> Of the immigrant who came to this country, it was expected that sooner or later, either in his own person or through his children, he would give up virtually everything he had brought from the "old country"--his language, his nationality, his manner of life--and would adopt the ways of his new home. Within broad limits, however, his becoming an American did not involve his abandoning the old religion in favor of some native American substitute. Quite the contrary, not only was he expected to retain his old religion, as he was not expected to retain his old language or nationality, but such was the shape of America that he, or rather his children and grandchildren, found an identifiable place in American life. (Herberg 1960, p. 27)

Herberg, of course, could not have been expected to prophesy that, though the immigrant and his children were expected to remain within the immigrant church, that church would gradually over the years become more and more heavily assimilated in worship practice and even theology, to the point where denominational distinctions have become thoroughly blurred.

There is certainly only a tiny portion of the nation's rich religious diversity available on radio or television, and this, obviously, is true in large measure because the local nature of ethnic broadcasting means that it is difficult for widely-scattered congregations to produce their own programs. On the other hand, however, many ethnic broadcasters regularly play programs produced by, say, the Southern Baptists, because these organizations pay for the time, and thus make the ethnic producer's financial burdens lighter. One cannot help but wonder why the denominations to which these broadcasters (and their listeners) belong do not themselves produce and sponsor brief (possibly 15-minute) broadcasts for insertion into the appropriate programs. Anyone who has ever entered a college classroom to teach or lecture about ethnicity in American culture is aware, not only that most students do not know where Croatia is, but that they have absolutely no notion concerning the enormous religious diversity of the United States. Catholic students almost never know of the existence of the Eastern Rite branch of their denomination, few have ever heard of Eastern Orthodoxy, and the history of most Protestant denominations remains an impenetrable mystery. If other denominations were a tenth as active as the Seventh-Day Adventists in presenting their cases on radio, much of this difficulty would be mitigated.

CHAPTER VII

PROGRAM CONTENT

Despite many differences in detail, it is possible to speak of a typical format for most ethnic broadcasting. The programs, invariably, are sandwiches: layers of talk interspersed with recorded music. Frequently it is the producer's own record collection that is pressed into service, thus in a way bringing the living room to the broadcast studio. As on all radio, the choice of music is influenced by the age of the audience, but there are many additional constraints. One is not likely, on a Hungarian program, to hear Bartok's Sixth String Quartet, or, on a German broadcast, Beethoven's "Missa Solemnis." Moreover, one does not hear that body of music that scholars have lumped together under the rubrics "traditional" or "folk." The sort of music that appears on such labels as UNESCO, Folkways, and Arhoolie finds little or no place on the average ethnic broadcast.

Opera fares considerably better. In our survey, several Italian broadcasts, Polish broadcasts, one Rumanian program, and a Scandinavian program offered operatic selections. And German producers often schedule portions of the well-loved light operatic material of such musicians as Lehar and Strauss. In Europe, of course, opera has been the property of working people; its transmogrification in the United States into an "elite" property is a subject worthy of investigation.

The music, looked at from an overall perspective, is difficult to categorize, except that it is almost always non-esoteric, even "popular"--in the sense that it has a broad appeal. Thus, the staple fare on the many programs designed for East Indians is film music. India, of course, has an enormous film industry, almost the world's largest, and film music has become an extremely important genre, blending all sorts of musics and instruments into an eclectic new tradition. Again, perhaps 90% of the music presented on Greek-American programs is for bouzouki and voice. This represents a relatively new tradition in Greece, where it was born on the Piraeus waterfront, the child of a Hellenic mother and an Anatolian father. Under the guidance of Theodorakis and others, it has begun to emerge as a kind of musical lingua franca of Greece, eclipsing older instrumental traditions and instruments. This <u>laika</u>, with its overtones of discontent and underground traditions, is now solidly entrenched, not only in the mother country, but in the diaspora as well. As a partial result, such formerly well-established traditions as the regional dances (even the <u>Tsamico</u> and <u>Kalamatiano</u>), have lost ground, at least in the United States, to the Anatolian <u>Zeimbekiko</u> and <u>Karsilimas</u>.

A number of Jewish programs present old or popular songs in Yiddish translation. "The Barry Riceman Show" (Philadelphia: WIBF 3), on 5 March 1978, presented "Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey" and "My Bonny Lies Over the Ocean" in Yiddish. Comic songs and parodies are a normal part of Jewish programs. (Mickey Katz is a favorite in this vein.)

In nations in which two or more distinct styles coexist in different regions, a broadcaster is likely to take cognizance of that in his selections. Thus, the Albanian program in New York (WHBI 5a) presents a balanced assortment of the very different northern and southern Albanian styles of music.

The selection of what the broadcaster deems to be appropriate music can be a difficult, even thorny question. A well-known Armenian-American musician (who plays by preference in what we might call the "Middle-Eastern" style, with an ensemble of 'ud, qanun, clarinet, and dumbeg) was critical of many Armenian radio programs. He said that they broadcast far too much Soviet Armenian music, and neglected the traditional music as it is found in the United States and Lebanon. (This judgement, by the way, parallels one made by members of other groups, who believe that there is a strong effort to "Russify" the cultures of many Soviet republics.)

If we attempt to generalize concerning the music played on ethnic broadcasts, we would have to say that it slides along the continuum implied by the words "popular," "old-fashioned," even in one sense "folk." Perhaps the most familiar analogue is the music that one hears on the Lawrence Welk program. One makes this statement apprehensively, knowing the extent to which both the "folk" and "classical" music elites despise Welk's production. To understand the comparison in the sense in which it is meant here requires the reader to wipe away these prejudices for a time. Welk, after all, is an "ethnic" musician; he grew up in a German-speaking enclave in North Dakota where he did not learn English until he was 21. The music that he and his millions of listeners favor, even today, is very much like what his natal community expected: polkas, waltzes, hymns, show-tunes.

The music favored on our programs, then, is centered, not around the concepts that folklorists have come to regard as significant, but around the matrix of ethnicity. The old 78-rpm records on the Columbia "E" and the Victor "V" series were labelled "Croatian," "Greek," "Swedish," "Lithuanian," or "Irish"; it is from the contemporary equivalents of these that the ethnic broadcaster draws his material.

Producers expect, however, that a certain number of their listeners will be drawn from ethnic groups other than their own. As

a rule, however, the crossover comes from those who are culturally very close. We have mentioned the frequency with which Scottish listeners tune in Irish programs; Steffanides indicates that his "Hellenic Dawn" broadcast was popular with "Jews, Albanians, and Armenians" (Steffanides 1974, p. 166). And I once heard a Jewish broadcaster in New York play a Greek piece, following it with the remark that after all, the scale was the same, and that his listeners thus could enjoy it.

At present, then, ethnic broadcasting in the United States follows the same policies of rigid stratification as does the industry in general, relying on what we have called a sandwich, and making a strong play for members of only one age group. This was not always so, for radio in general, or for ethnic broadcasting in particular.

At one time, live music was a major part of radio. In February 1928, under the headline "Brunswick Co. Broadcasts Polish Hours of Music," the Talking Machine World described "something new in radio programs . . . prepared by the Chicago office of the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Co." This "something new" was the "Brunswick Polish Hour of Music over radio station WCFL of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Brunswick recording studios." The article that follows gives us considerable insight into this broadcast series:

> [It] constitutes mainly a program of artists who have recorded for Brunswick in their Polish record catalog, and other prominent Polish singers, musicians of the city of Chicago and surrounding territory. . . . The sale of Polish records in Chicago has increased enormously since the inauguration of these broadcasts . . . and has created a very definite demand for Brunswick Polish records in Chicago.
>
> The announcements for this hour are made both in in English and in Polish. The singing, of course, is entirely in Polish and naturally the vast Polish population of the Chicago territory tunes in every week for the concert. (ibid., p. 9)

The rigid recorded-music-plus-announcement formula that nowadays characterizes almost all radio was by no means standard prior to the days of television. Though music undoubtedly provided the staple fare on ethnic radio, even in those days, there was then considerable variety: drama, comedy, quizzes, commentaries, and amateur hours pervaded the airwaves. In 1941, under W.P.A. auspices, a week-long survey of ethnic radio took place in selected communities throughout the nation; the results were analyzed by the sociologists Arnheim and Bayne (1941, pp. 3-64). The survey itself was carried out by

individuals in various places, who took the responsibility for listening to and evaluating ethnic radio, and of filling out extensive questionnaires. The two sociologists, attempting to evaluate their respondents' opinions on music, came up with the following appraisal: "They feel that popular music of a cheap, old-fashioned type prevails, and the elements of emotion and sentiment seem more stressed than rhythm and harmony. In fact, songs are most frequently offered, while instrumental music is rare." Since it is extremely difficult to say what--if anything--this means, we might pass over it in silence, to reproduce Arnheim and Bayne's content analysis (1941, Table Four).

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	German	Italian	Yiddish	Polish	Lithuanian	Spanish	Total
Musical	91.0%	61.3%	68.1%	73.3%	55.8%	88.1%	72.9%
News	2.0%	9.2%	11.3%	11.9%	15.1%	4.2%	8.6%
Drama	1.3%	23.3%	6.4%	11.1%	10.4%	2.6%	12.1%
Talks	4.5%	4.2%	8.4%	1.9%	13.5%	3.1%	3.8%
Others		1.2%	2.0%	5.8%	1.8%	5.2%	2.0%

Following this excursion into the past, we might examine the program content of several programs in detail. Kathleen Monahan recently published an analysis of the Pittsburgh "Irish Hour." Her method entailed long-term familiarity with the broadcast; a complete tabulation of its musical material for a period of four weeks; and extensive interviews with Mike Folan, its producer (Monahan 1977, pp. 201-215). Folan's program, by the way, is partially founded on telephoned requests and letters requesting him to play specific musical selections.

On 3 March 1974 ten out of 30 musical selections were requested by regular listeners; of these, three were perennial favorites of the broadcast. They are "The Cliffs of Donegal," "Shana Golden," and "The Happy Hour Polka."

As is nearly always the case on ethnic radio, a good many of the selections are emigration songs, expressing nostalgia for the home left behind, and extolling its beauties or the good folk left on the other side of the sea. Almost one-third of the songs sung on 3 March 1974 fell into that category, and there was even one song, performed by a young Irish-American (and sung to the tune of "Arrivaderci Roma") in which he said that, though he had never been to Ireland, he missed it just the same!

Folan's repertoire originates, for the most part, with Irish performers, but there are always a few tunes (perhaps a half-dozen) recorded by Irish-American or Irish-Canadian musicians. The listeners do not often request--and Mike Folan does not often provide--selections played by such contemporary "traditional" ensembles as the Chieftains or the Clancy Brothers. From time to time, he does present music in his native tongue, Irish Gaelic. Medleys of reels, polkas, waltzes, and marches are popular in the Pittsburgh Irish-American community, and Folan never fails to include several of them on his broadcast.

For several years, there were two additional Irish programs in Pittsburgh, giving us the opportunity to make certain comparisons. We will shortly, in our description of ethnic radio in Pittsburgh, refer to the activites of the so-called "alternative" station there; both of the additional Irish broadcasts originated at that outlet. One of these, produced by Mike Folan's son Pat, was similar to his father's in format and music selected. Because it was broadcast on a week-night, it was extremely popular with local Irish-Americans, though the station's "underground" management did not regard it or its producer with favor. By accident or design, they soon juxtaposed it with the "Gay Hour" (a program not notable for its popularity with the Irish-American community). Pat Folan's broadcast soon left the air.

The other Irish broadcast on the "alternative" station, however, presents us with a paradigm of the possible conflicts in ethnic radio. "The Green Groves of Erin" was produced by a graduate student in music, who had spent a college year abroad in Ireland, and while there had become fascinated with the music that was then becoming so popular at competitions and in pubs. This genre has recently become popular with many college students; it is nearly always instrumental, and performed on such instruments as the fiddle, the penny-whistle, the uillean pipes, or the banjo. Musical selections for "The Green Groves of Erin" were drawn almost altogether from this genre of Irish music; the verbal commentary was quasi-musicological in the style of a jazz program, referring to the provenance of this or that tune, and to its relationships with other tunes. It is unlikely that, during the two or so years during which both this broadcast and Mike Folan's "Irish Hour" were on the air, a single musical selection was played on both programs.

If we look for a moment at the verbal component of Mike Folan's "Irish Hour" we find that it falls into several categories that are typical for most ethnic radio:

1. Advertisements
2. Announcements: births, marriages, anniversaries, deaths
3. Requests for prayers
4. Announcements of conventions
5. Community events
6. Charter trips to Ireland
7. Birthday wishes

The pattern of advertising, too, is typical. It was altogether local, suggesting that listeners patronize particular restaurants, clubs, and stores. Very often there is an appeal to ethnic pride and solidarity, as when "Little Richard" in Chicago exhorts his listeners: "Don't you know it's wise to deal with your own?" Similarly, the producer of the German program in Denver suggests that his listeners patronize a certain local stereo repair shop, not only because the proprietor has been in business for a decade, but more especially because he was "trained in Germany."

Arnheim and Bayne (1941, p. 45) had referred to this phenomenon nearly four decades earlier: "The advertisers on the German language programs overwhelmingly refer to the fact that the product they are selling is German. Almost half of all the advertising appeals contain the message, 'We sell German products.' Also of importance is the appeal to patronize compatriots, that is, to buy from fellow Germans."

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During the period when these observations were made, of course there was an increasing anti-German feeling among many segments of the population in the United States, and it was widely felt that most Germans were disloyal to their adopted land. Nevertheless, we must make explicit what has earlier in this work been perhaps implicit only: Advertising on ethnic programs is based largely on the idea that certain products are necessary to you because you belong to such and such an ethnic group, but, beyond this, you are exhorted to patronize service establishments, because they "speak your language"; because you know them; or even because it is somehow safer to deal with "one of your own." It seems likely that this attitude might cause a certain anxiety among readers who have abandoned what Fishman called "primordial ties" (Fishman 1972, p. 20). But a moment's reflection is sure to convince such individuals that they themselves patronize certain types of establishments because these places are designed to appeal to members of the various occupation-based and class-based sub-groups to which they have shifted their allegiance.

While it is not possible to speak of any typical ethnic broadcast, there is, as we have seen, a formula that the majority of programs adhere to. As an example of a broadcast that is reminiscent of many others, we cite the Scottish program (on WQRS, Detroit), "Breakfast in Bed," the host of which is Doug Lindsay. We chose to analyze this broadcast for several reasons: first, it is probably the only Scottish radio program in existence in the United States; second, there is no language problem for English-speaking readers; third, the present writer is well acquainted with the Scottish tradition.

The title, "Breakfast in Bed," is part of the title of a famous Harry Lauder song, "Breakfast in Bed on a Sunday Morning," and since the program is broadcast on Sunday morning, the title is appropriate indeed. There is a large Scottish community in the Detroit area and in neighboring Canada, and Mr. Lindsay, who is a travel agent from Monday to Friday, spends much of his time arranging trips to Scotland (and, as we shall see, to England and Ireland). It is not uncommon for travel agents to double as ethnic broadcasters, as we have already pointed out; thus, Doug Lindsay is joined by Tony Ortali (of the Italian program, Pittsburgh); Jan Petlicka (of the Czechoslovak program, New York); and John Whooley (of the Irish program, San Francisco). There are many other examples.

The format (on 4 June 1978 from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m.) was as follows:

1. Scottish country dance music--instrumental.
2. Emigration song: "the Dark Isle." (With the same tune as an Irish song: "The Beautiful City, My Home By the Lea.")

3. Advertisement: Clan Drummond charter, from Windsor to Prestwick.
4. Comic song: "Whisky on a Sunday." Sung by the Alexanders.
5. Advertisement: Lily's Boutique, Scottish goods.
6. Pipes and Drums. Played by the Red Heckle.
7. Advertisement: Caledonian Club flight to Prestwick, London, Belfast, Dublin, and Shannon.
8. Request song (for a visitor from Scotland): "Campbelton Loch." Comic song. Sung by Andy Stewart.
9. Advertisement: Car rental in Scotland.
10. Birthday wishes and song request: "Loch Lomond." Sung by Kenneth MacKellar.
11. Advertisement: Scottish Imports Shop.
12. Comic song: "The Christening of Wee Donald." Sung by Calum Kennedy.
13. Advertisement: Ackroyd's Scottish foods.
14. Scottish country dance music. Played by the Jimmy Shand Band.
15. Advertisement: Caledonia Club charter to Scotland.
16. Comic song: "The Hieland Chorus." (With the same tune as an Irish song: "Courtin' in the Kitchen.") Sung by Joe Gordon.
17. Announcement: Caledonian Club events, including a trip to Toronto and two concerts.
18. Scottish country dance music: "The Muckin' o' Geordie's Byre."
19. Advertisement: British rail passes, sold by a local travel agent.
20. Comic song: "My Big Kilmarnock Bonnet." Sung by Colin Stewart.
21. Advertisement: Group flight to Australia.
22. Band music. Played by the Black Watch Band.
23. Advertisement: Scottish Import Shop.
24. Song: "Edelweiss." Sung by Bill McHugh.
25. Advertisement: Travel agent. Bus trips in Scotland.
26. Instrumental selection: "Scotland Forever." Played by the Plaid Pops Orchestra.
27. Announcement: Highland games, sponsored by the Saint Andrew's Society.
28. Song: "The Gathering of the Clans." Sung by Kenneth MacKellar.
29. Songs: Music by George M. Cohan. Sung by Max Bygrave.

With the mystifying exception of "Edelweiss" and the concluding George M. Cohan selections, the entire program, music and

texts, would be of interest to a Scottish and, to an extent, an Irish audience. Several Irish broadcasters told us that they were aware that a large group of Scots listened to their programs (e.g., Philadelphia). The tunes of several songs on "Breakfast in Bed" are identical to those of Irish songs; the Scottish country dance music is quite like that of the Irish ceili band; the languages are not dissimilar; and an occasional use of such a Gaelic word as "Ochone" helps to remind Scots and Irish of their cultural similarities. One would not, however, be likely to hear a Scottish pipe band on an Irish program. We have already seen that Jews, Armenians, and Albanians can listen comfortably to, say, a Greek broadcast (Steffanides 1974, p. 166). Irish and Scottish persons have a similar cultural relationship.

It seems fair to state that most of the music played on "Breakfast in Bed" is designed to appeal to immigrants of an older generation. Though there are many younger Scottish-Americans bound up in the pipe-band movement, there does not seem to be, among them, as much fervor for, say, the Corries or The Boys of the Lough, as there is for The Chieftains or the Clancy Brothers among their Irish-American contemporaries. The Scottish group is much smaller, for one thing; they do not seem to be caught up in the Scottish Nationalist cause to nearly the same extent as are Irish-Americans in the Northern Irish question.

It is interesting to note that, though Scots in the United States are in general rather abstinent in the use of alcohol, at least three of the songs refer to the presumed love of the Scotsman for the bottle. "Whisky on a Sunday" is an obvious example. The eighth item, "Campbelton Loch," is a song in which the singer proclaims that he wishes that Campbelton Loch were whiskey, in which case he "wid drink ye dry." Similarly, "The Christening of Wee Donald" describes the rivers of whiskey and beer that flowed at that celebration. Harry Lauder, of course, was most famous for his song about whiskey, "A Wee Deoch An Dorus" (A Wee Drap at the Door). And older songs concerning drink abound, both in Ireland and Scotland.

Pipe music, needless to say, provides an important rallying point for Scottish culture, wherever it may be in the diaspora, and the same is true (perhaps to a lesser extent) of Scottish country dance music. We note that Doug Lindsay provides both.

Though both the Irish and the Scots have large Gaelic-speaking populations (some of whom live in the United States and Canada), the radio programs beamed at these populations rarely or never schedule recordings of music in Scottish Gaelic or Irish. Again, for most Scots, at least, interest in the maintenance of Gaelic dates from after their arrival in this country, and there might be little call for Gaelic music.

In our discussion of "Breakfast in Bed," we have paid special attention to the place of the musical portion in its relationship to the ethnic life of the Scottish community in the Detroit area. Now let us look at a broadcast from the point of view of its economic relationship to the community. The program we have chosen is one of two aired in the Clearwater area of Florida for the comparatively large Hellenic community. This program (WFSO 1) is on the air each Sunday morning from 8:00 until 10:30 a.m., giving listening Greeks time to attend the Liturgy at 11:00. Since the music on the broadcast is almost entirely popular material for voice and bouzouki, we will not refer to it further below, but will confine ourselves to listing the advertising on a fifty-minute segment (WFSO, 2 July 1978):

1. Skycrest Super Market, Clearwater
   (English-Greek)
2. Tunik's Auto Repairs, Clearwater and Tarpon Springs
   (English-Greek)
3. Athenian Gardens Restaurant, St. Petersburg
   (English-Greek)
4. Stone Buick, Clearwater
   (English-Greek)
5. Demetrios Lukatoris, plumber, Tarpon Springs
   (Greek)
6. Theodosiou Pastry Shop, Tarpon Springs
   (Greek)
7. Liquor Store, Dunedin
   (Greek)
8. Imperial Carpets, Tampa
   (Greek)
9. Cretekos Realty, Tarpon Springs
   (Greek)
10. Hellas Restaurant, Largo
    (Greek)
11. George's Auto Body Shop, Clearwater
    (Greek)

Once again, we notice that it is not only Greek goods that are being sold, but services--provided by "one of your own." But we must not forget, either, that some of these merchants may advertise on the program as a community service, in the belief that the Hellenic community needs a Greek program.

Finally we must consider the issue of language and dialect. We have occasionally noted earlier in this study that the way in which an ethnic announcer speaks sometimes creates dissension and controversy. An additional example is provided by Steffanides, discussing the conflict that he and his partners in Greek radio had, partially over speech and musical patterns, but partly, too, over who would control what was rapidly becoming a lucrative property. Describing one of his

co-announcers, he says:

> The fact was that at that time Christos was neither an outstanding musician nor a good speaker. His diction was rather mediocre, and his Greek was a little worse. . . . Many listeners of his program, and especially his advertisers, wanted me to make their announcements because they did not like Christos' way of speaking on the radio. . . . Peter George [Christos's father] was an old-style immigrant, fresh from the hills of Georgitsion, Sparta, and no one could convince him that he and his son were not the best of speakers for a radio program. (Steffanides 1974, p. 114)

This is not an isolated example, as the following quotation indicates:

> Unfortunately, the Greek-American radio programs do not serve as a model of standard Greek, on any stylistic level whatever, and this fact is generally recognized by the Greek community. Many correspondents, most informants, and several other individuals in private conversation made negative comments about the quality of the programming in general. While new immigrants are outside of this study, it is perhaps worth mentioning my observation that recent immigrants from Greece often do NOT listen to the Greek-American radio programs, and many even look upon them with disdain. (Seaman 1972, p. 69)

Fishman helps to clarify the matter:

> There are . . . three programs [in Cleveland] conducted by recent Hungarian arrivals and tailored to D. P. [displaced person] Hungarian listener taste. In these programs, the language level is consistently that of the educated classes of Budapest and the entertainment tends to be more international in flavor than Hungarian alone. All commentary is in Hungarian. The programs of the recent arrivals are not particularly attractive to the older Hungarian-American audience both because of their "high" language and because of their concentration on topics of D. P. interest. (Fishman 1966, p. 37)

Time, in America, is frozen for the immigrant at the day on which he stepped on a boat or plane; immigrants become nostalgic over the songs that were current whenever they last saw the native soil; songs that are much favored in Tarpon Springs have been forgotten in

Greece for years. The "standard" language is imposed by force on the people of a nation--and frequently turns out to be no more than the dialect of the politically most powerful region. Linguistic issues arouse powerful conflicts in the native lands. One thinks of the puristic-demotic controversy in Greece; the landsmal-riksmal issue in Norway; the Scots-"Edinburgh English" battle in Scotland. Sicilian, for instance, is a very different language from standard Italian, and many older immigrants are far more likely to speak the former than the latter. Younger immigrants, on the other hand, have been schooled and are not likely to respect their ancestral "dialect."

We observe precisely the same thing in the use of English on the electronic media in the United States. One does not usually hear an announcer speaking in the tones of Mississippi, Bangor, or Brooklyn.

Moreover, persons long resident in the United States absorb English words, frequently assimilating them into their native grammar and syntax. Thus we have the Spanish word "supermercado," and the Greek-American terms "youngomanos" and "bossis" (Mencken 1936, pp. 686-687).

All of these dialectical and assimilistic difficulties exist both for the broadcaster and his audience; the way in which he speaks (and they perceive) the language has a great deal to do with defining and delimiting his audience. But beyond that, it is clear from what we have said above that ethnic broadcasting is not an enclave. It is instead fully related to the intellectual and cultural tensions that are responsible for language riots in India, for the abandonment of Arabic characters in Turkey, for the conflict over the metric system. The situation in ethnic broadcasting casts much light on the situation in radio in general: on its lack of regional definition, on its identical nature everywhere in the United States. And finally, it calls into question notions of the "global village," and the Toffleresque ideas of the future. Strange as it may seem, each ethnic broadcaster must constantly balance and weigh these issues, in however small a way.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE AUDIENCE

A recent UNESCO publication estimated that there were nearly 354,000,000 radios in the United States, or an average of almost two per person. There are about 9,000 radio stations in the country, and radio is a big business, with revenues in 1975 estimated at $1.7 billion (National Endowment for the Arts 1977, p. 65). To what degree is the ethnic diversity of the nation broadcast over these stations? How many people listen to ethnic radio, or watch ethnic television? These are vexing and difficult questions to which no direct answers are now possible.

Why is this? In the first place, the rating services on which stations and advertisers depend for their knowledge of listenership do not generally measure ethnic programming. Their samples are so small that there would be no way, using their present methods, for them to achieve satisfactory results. In the second place, the listings given in industry publications for ethnic broadcasts themselves are wildly inaccurate. We will return presently to this point.

For insights into the history of listenership, we must turn to sources that may be equally flawed. Roucek, writing of the year 1942, presents the following figures (based on an article in Time):

> Of 915 radio stations in the United States, 205 stations broadcast in twenty-six foreign languages to a potential audience of 15,000,000 persons, an estimated three million of whom neither speak nor understand English. In the first thirty days after Pearl Harbor, they put on 6,776 hours of programs in twenty-nine tongues ranging in time on the air from Italian, Polish, Spanish, Jewish, and German with the most hours, to Armenian, Slovene, and Mesquakie (a dialect of the Algonquin tongue for Indians in Iowa) with the least. Nearly three-fourths of the time is given for Polish, Spanish, Jewish, and German language broadcasts. (Roucek 1945, p. 384)

Though the figures that we must depend upon for a comparison with the present day are too impressionistic for us to place complete reliance upon them, they do show that Polish (after Spanish) is the commonest language in number of hours on the air. It is followed by Italian, then French (a newcomer to the list), and German. "Jewish" has receded far down the list.

Two decades after Roucek published his figures, Warshauer estimated that there was a weekly total of 6,214 hours of "foreign-language" broadcasting on the air--including Spanish (Warshauer 1966, p. 76). If we take her figures and Roucek's at their face value, we are led to believe that ethnic broadcasting had multiplied threefold in twenty years. In that period, of course, there had been a phenomenal growth in the number of Spanish-speaking persons in the United States, as well as a marked increase in population.

When we come to the late 1970s we have, as we said above, to contend with what we know to be inaccurate figures. There is no doubt, however, that the increase in Spanish-language radio broadcasting alone has again tripled the earlier statistics. As of 1977, there were 98 Spanish-format stations (National Endowment for the Arts 1977, p. 63), and a count of the outlets programming part-time in Spanish reveals at least 2,000 hours each week in that category. If we make the conservative assumption that each of the Spanish-format stations is on the air only 15 hours each day, we arrive at a figure each week of 10,000 hours of full-time programming, in addition to the 2,000 hours part-time, for a total, for Spanish broadcasting alone, of some 12,000 hours weekly.

It is when we attempt to assess the number of hours on the air of other ethnic broadcasting that we have difficulty. A count of the ethnic broadcasts listed in the "Special Programming" category of Broadcasting Yearbook reveals a total of about 2,600 hours of broadcasting each week. A glance at the listings, however, reveals at once that such active ethnic outlets as WHBI, New York, KBRG, San Francisco, WMZK, Detroit, WIBF, Jenkintown, and all or portions of the schedule of WZAK, Cleveland, are omitted. Indeed, of the 150 or so programs represented in our recordings, about 100 are omitted from the listings in Broadcasting Yearbook. Even on this basis, we would have to add at least 500 hours each week of non-Spanish ethnic programming to the total. It is safe, therefore, to assume that there are at least 3,600 hours each week of non-Spanish ethnic programming broadcast in the United States, giving, if we add the Spanish programs for the sake of comparison with the older figures, a total of no less than 15,600 hours of non-English broadcasting each week.

But even that does not represent the total picture, for we have not so far considered ethnic television, for which we have no figures available. How many persons listen to ethnic radio, and watch ethnic television programs?

There are at least 1,000 newspapers and magazines catering to members of specific American ethnic groups (Wyner 1976, p. 22). These cater to persons from some fifty ethnic and cultural backgrounds, ranging alphabetically from Albanian to Welsh (ibid., pp. 23-24), and have circulations

totalling some nine million--but this, of course, is not equivalent to total readership, for there is no way of knowing how many individuals subscribe to more than one periodical. Moreover, we do not know just how many persons read each copy of each publication. It seems clear, however, that persons who subscribe to ethnic periodicals are prime candidates for inclusion in the audience for ethnic broadcasting. Perhaps it is fair to assume a total readership for ethnic publications of some 15,000,000.

Seaman, in his survey of Greek-Americans in the Chicago area, found that 43% of the persons in his sample listened often to Greek radio, while an additional 20% listened occasionally (Seaman 1972, p. 68). If we assume that there are about 1,500,000 individuals in the United States who are conscious of Greek ethnicity, and if we assume that some 40% of them listen frequently to Greek radio, we arrive at a figure of about 600,000 listeners. The Greek press in the United States has a total circulation of 272,000, and if we assume about two readers per issue of each periodical, we arrive at a figure of 544,000, which is comparable to our assumption for broadcasting.

Greek-American broadcasting represents no more than 5% of the total number of hours of ethnic programming each week, which would mean, if we projected our figures to the at least 3,600 weekly hours of non-Spanish programming, a total of some 12,000,000 listeners. But, if we take into account the probable readership of the ethnic press as around 15,000,000, we might raise the number for ethnic broadcasting somewhat.

We cannot assume that members of all ethnic groups listen to ethnic radio with equal avidity. Warshauer (1966, p. 81) believes that broadcasting "seems to be more popular than the mother tongue press among speakers of Spanish. The opposite seems to be true among speakers of Polish and German."

More precise details concerning the make-up of the audience are equally difficult to come by. Several observers have claimed the audience to be made up largely of older persons. Roucek says that a large proportion of the listeners were older people:

> But . . . most foreign-language programs "typically conjure up a rather anachronistic picture of the home country," sentimentalizing the particular bit of homeland that the listeners had left years ago, and which "by virtue of time and distance has become to them some sort of earthly paradise." Thus these programs are clearly directed to the older people, not well acquainted with the English language and emotionally involved in the country of their youth. Little or no

> effort is made to catch the interest of the younger people born or reared in America. (Roucek 1945, p. 385; his quotations are taken fom Arnheim and Bayne 1941)

Kutak, writing two decades earlier, tells us that when "one of the older Czech inhabitants is asked what type of radio program he likes best, he usually replies 'I don't turn on the radio unless there is some Bohemian music coming in'" (Kutak 1933, p. 121).

There are hints in the literature that the audience is predominatantly feminine, and this may only reflect the demographic situation in general. One survey of Spanish television claims that most members of the audience are over the age of 40, and that some 75% are female (Dunn 1975, p. 4). Further, Monahan has noted that most of the request calls on the Pittsburgh "Irish Hour" are made by women (Monahan 1977, p. 204). It is often said that in immigrant families a standard economic pattern is for the husband to go out to work in the mines or mills, and perforce to learn English, while his wife stays home maintaining the native language. This is hardly a blanket rule: "Sometimes it was he went out to the wide world, learned the language of the country, and grew sophisticated in the ways of the place, while she was confined to the flat and remained ignorant of the rudiments of English. . . . Sometimes it was she, in service in some other's home, who learned the ways" (Handlin 1951, p. 236).

And Handlin might well have mentioned that the immigrant women of the textile-mills of New England were out working in factories every bit as much as their husbands. But they did not work in heavy industry in such steel cities, for example, as Gary, Homestead, or Lackawanna. Regional and industrial characteristics and demands, coupled with ethnic familial patterns, combine to create a great many different patterns of response. We might point out that the work pattern affects broadcasting: in a steel-making city, for example, where the work-day began early, and many immigrants worked a six-day week, the most appropriate day for broadcasting in the native tongue would be Sunday.

If we return to the question of age once again, it becomes obvious that this is a more complex matter than most observers have assumed. If Roucek correctly assumed that listeners to ethnic radio in 1940 were the older, unassimilated generation, and if we make the same assumption for a time nearly forty years later, we can hardly assume the same listenership. Nor can we assume that post-World War II immigration has been sufficient alone to maintain the substantial audience that we know to exist. To put it bluntly: Who <u>is</u> listening? It is obvious that if it is not today's young people, it must be yesterday's--those, in other words, who were said not to be listening a generation or two ago.

In a previous publication (Grame 1977, pp. 56-64), I pointed out the extent to which we tend to delineate our roles in ethnic, cultural, class, regional, and temporal subgroups by means of the music that we listen to. Of the five parameters mentioned above, the one that is of the greatest importance to broadcasters is age. Preoccupation with the social, cultural, and economic meaning of age is endemic in our society, even to the point that people often live in age-based ghettoes of one kind or another. Age determines what we buy; what stimulants we take; what we wear--and what music we "like." If broadcasting, with its rigid notions of age stratification, has contributed to this national obsession, it is hardly surprising; it is, after all, embedded in the society.

Riesman, speaking of what he deems the "otherdirected" type, describes his post-World War II research into the musical preferences of teenagers, some of them, perhaps, the children of Roucek's "unassimilated" ethnics.

> The newer pattern of popularity depends less on ability to play an instrument than on ability to express the proper musical preferences. In the fall of 1947 I conducted some interviews among teen-agers in Chicago concerning their tastes in popular music and also consulted professional musicians, juke-box listings, and other sources to round out my impressions. My interest was principally in seeing how these young people used their musical interests in the process of peer-group adjustment. Like the "trading cards" which symbolize competitive consumption for the eight to eleven-year-olds, the collections of records seemed to be one way of establishing one's relatedness to the group, just as the ability to hum current tunes was part of the popularity kit. The requirements were stiffer among girls than boys, though the latter were not exempt. At the same time the teen-agers showed great anxiety about having the "right" preferences. When I had the occasion to interview a group its individual members looked around to see what the others thought before committing themselves--at least as to specific songs or records, if not to a general type of music, such as symphonic or hillbilly, where they might be certain as to their group's reactions. . . . It seems to me . . . that the need for musical conformity is today much more specialized and demanding than it was in an earlier era. . . . (Riesman 1953, p. 97)

The "need for musical conformity" that Riesman discerned may well have been related in an inverse way to the cultural heterogeneity that was characteristic of the older generation, in a nation

that was "most interested in speeding up the assimilation of its national minorities who have recently immigrated" (Roucek 1945, p. 385, quoting Arnheim and Bayne 1941). Music must have been perceived as an admirable tool in the process of assimilation. We can assume that there was a powerful attempt at deracination.

In 1979, however, the generation of teenagers who hung around the jukebox is nearly fifty years old, and it seems reasonable to assume that some of them, at least, constitute the audience for the ethnic music that they must have shunned long ago.

Finally, we must at least suspect a change in the audience at the present time, when there is more hospitability to the idea of cultural pluralism than there has ever been before in the United States. This phenomenon (nascent at the best) is one for which we can not yet adduce "hard" evidence; we will refer to it several times in the pages that follow. There are, however, hints that it has become, not only acceptable, but desirable for younger persons to have and be proud of an ethnic identity. Whether this filmy sentiment can compete with the iron mask of cultural conformity demanded by format radio and its cousin the phonograph record industry remains conjectural, but by no means outside the realm of possibility.

PART TWO

ETHNIC BROADCASTING IN THE NATION

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CHAPTER IX

CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST

Of the four states (Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah) that the Mobil Travel Guide includes in California and the West, we have been able to include information from three: Arizona, California, and Nevada. For material from Nevada, we are indebted to Alan Jabbour, Director of the American Folklife Center. During a trip to the state, he had the opportunity to obtain a tape and notes concerning one of the few Basque programs aired in the United States.

In Arizona, we chose to study a Navajo program broadcast from Flagstaff. Since Navajo material is on the air in about eight cities in the Southwest, our choice was made on a logistical basis as much as anything. There is, of course, a good deal of Spanish-language radio in Arizona, but the wide availability of similar broadcasts elsewhere persuaded us to use the limited time at our disposal to study only Navajo programming.

California, in its ethnic diversity, its size, its complexity, posed a considerable puzzle. Many hours of preparation were spent with a list of ethnic programs, a map, schedules of transportation companies, and a calculator. These, combined with my travel budget and my knowledge of ethnic diversity, resulted in a plan of attack.

There were certain fixed points. To begin with, I was aware that California was home to a large Armenian-American population, and I was anxious to sample their broadcasting. I knew that, though Los Angeles is popularly identified with Mexican culture, and San Francisco with Asians, these were vast simplifications of the reality, and that great ethnic diversity existed in both cities. Again, I wished to penetrate deeply enough into southern California to feel the influence of the many Mexican border stations.

Several radio handbooks indicated the presence in California of a number of Portuguese-language programs, aired in at least fifteen cities. I knew, too, that Portuguese radio in California had a rich history. In 1939,

> There were the following Portuguese programs in California: "Voz dos Acores," in Modesto and Visalia, under the direction of Jose Vitorino; "Castelos Romanticos," Oakland, Artur V. Avila; "Ecos de Portugal," Oakland, Leonel Soares de Azevedo; "Voz de Portugal," San Jose, Oakland, and Watsonville, Tomaz Dias; "Portuguese America," Stockton, Manuel C. Leal; "Voz do Valle," Modesto, J. Cabral; "Memorias de Portugal,"

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Sacramento, Gabriel Silveira; "Memorias de Portugal e Acores," Merced, Betty Santos; "Ares Lusitanos," Merced, George Costa; "As Cruzados," Merced, Raimundo Silva; "Memorias Internacionais," Visalia, Anthony Souza; and "Cabrilho," Monterey, Mrs. Soares de Azevedo. (Cardozo 1976, p. 75)

Three decades have brought a partial shift in the location of the Portuguese group--and, of course, of their broadcasts. In 1977 (though, as we shall see, the pattern had altered significantly by 1978), the agricultural areas around Merced, Modesto, and Stockton continued to air Portuguese broadcasts; the San Francisco area and the section south to Santa Cruz maintained some broadcasts. The Portuguese population seems, however, to have moved south: Tulare and Fresno aired several broadcasts in 1977, and none, apparently, in 1939. Southern California, which seems not to have had any Portuguese programs in 1939, has two today, in San Diego and Corona.

It is obvious that these observations point to the necessity, eventually, of genuine demographic studies of ethnic radio, both as a tool for the broadcaster and even as a parameter for ethnic mapping. Indeed, the economic survival of ethnic broadcasting may well be hinged to the development of such studies.

Despite the cultural and broadcasting richness of the California Portuguese community, this writer, as it turned out, had very little direct contact with the phenomenon. He watched one Portuguese TV program, and recorded one brief Portuguese religious broadcast. He says this to emphasize again that the present study represents a framework, a skeleton; the outlines of ethnic broadcasting are clearly delineated, but the flesh and bone remain to be filled in.

In several American cities, while listening to religious or ethnic stations, I had come across programs in a number of languages that were presented by an organization calling itself "The Voice of Prophecy," in Los Angeles. I determined to visit this producer, which, as it turned out, is a part of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. I spent several hours at their headquarters, and report on this in the section on religious broadcasting.

MODESTO

A not terribly original novelist would call Modesto a "pleasant" city, with its benign climate, broad streets, trees, and flowers. About 100,000 persons live here, in the county seat of Stanislaus County. The Union Pacific and Santa Fe Railways pass discreetly through the community, not, as in so many comparably sized

cities, clanging arrogantly down the main street creating monumental traffic blockages, but discreetly, even stealthily. United Airlines provides three flights each day to and from San Francisco, and the same number to Bakersfield and Los Angeles. The planes and the tiny airport are jammed with big men in Western hats, young men in jeans, and well-dressed women. Everyone knows everyone, and the airport is flutteringly inadequate and pandemonium-stricken when a plane lands.

Stanislaus County ranked eighth in the nation in gross agricultural income in 1977, earning in excess of a half-billion dollars. Farming is big business in Modesto, as is viniculture. (The city is the home of Gallo Wines.)

Why visit Modesto in search of ethnic broadcasting? To begin with, it did not seem wise to concentrate exclusively on the two largest cities in the state. Moreover, the city is ethnically variegated, with large concentrations of blacks, Filipinos, Greeks, Hindus, Portuguese, and Syrians. In addition, until March 1978 these communities were well-served by ethnic radio, with several hours of programming for each group, for a total of 34 hours weekly. But on 28 March 1978 the Modesto Bee, itself the owner of a local station, carried the following announcement: "KHOP is owned by Big Valley Broadcasting, Pete Pappas, President. It will operate in a new format as a 50,000 watt multiplex stereo operation: the most powerful FM station in Stanislaus County."

Amplified a little, the announcement meant that KHOP had totally abandoned its former religious and ethnic format for a totally automated music operation; the ethnic producers (and undoubtedly other station personnel) scrambled for safety. However unpleasant such an event might be were it to occur to an ethnic station in Chicago or New York, it is not necessarily catastrophic, for there are many stations on the air, and the producer may find an open microphone elsewhere. But in Stanislaus County the pickings are slim indeed. The dial is uncrowded. There is no place to go.

This had not been the first such event in Modesto. More than one year earlier (20 January 1977) the Modesto Bee had reported the following item: "Modesto's first Spanish-language stereo radio station, KITA-FM, began broadcasting the pop-music format of KFIV yesterday. . . . Mrs. Morales [a former employee] and her father say they will take the case to the complaint and compliance division of the FCC."

At the time of my visit, the ethnic programs on KHOP had barely been discontinued, and there had been neither time nor opportunity for the producers to locate elsewhere. There seemed, however, to be a move towards cable television. I was told that the producer of the former Hindu program planned such a move (though I was unable to reach

him for confirmation or denial). The staff at KHOP was, to say the least, close-mouthed.

In the absence of ethnic radio, I determined to look closely at ethnic TV. KLOC, Modesto (Channel 19), is in the main a Spanish-language station, with a format of news, community events programs, movies, and soap operas. In addition, it presents one Portuguese-language broadcast, "Portugual de Hoja" (which, in English, is known as "News and Varieties in Portuguese Language"). It is produced live on Monday evenings, from 8:30 until 10:00 p.m. The format is similar to many low-budget ethnic television programs. The host sits at a dias, facing a camera that is evidently fixed in position, showing no signs of control by an operator, since it never moves or zooms. The host handles the audio, placing records on a turntable. While the records are being played he receives numerous telephone calls. As if this is not enough to do, he evidently controls the slides that provide a changing pictorial background of Portugal. The one-armed paperhanger is in a catatonic state in comparison to our producer, who mentions birthdays and anniversaries, comments on the news, advertises supermarkets, auto dealers, banks, building contractors, and travel agencies.

"Portugal de Hoja," in short, emphasizes for us both the strengths and weaknesses of the extremely low-budget television that ethnic TV seems to be fated to remain. It is friendly, unstuffy, and accessible to its audience. It lacks all of the slick manipulation that we have come to consider "quality" in television. But on the other hand, it cannot, for budgetary reasons, utilize the technical advantages that the visual media can provide. And it is enormously more expensive than radio. It seems obvious that more producers will turn to budget cable TV programming in the years to come, and it seems manifest that even a low-budget operation might be helped greatly both by the judicious use of technical innovations, and by the acquisition of suitable visual materials. If ever a communicative device was in its infancy, this is it. It should be nurtured, not ignored.

SAN FRANCISCO

A specialist in ethnicity learns to read the signs that indicate the ethnic and national makeup of a city: he looks at the Yellow Pages; notes the names of stores and the goods they sell; he listens to the radio and watches television; he gazes at the crowds on the street and peers at the cornerstones of churches and synagogues. Rarely, however, does he find any of this at an airport Hilton--and indeed, he is not often to be found at an airport Hilton except when an airline foul-up causes him to miss the last plane of the day to another city. The airport Hilton in San Francisco, however, prints its room-service menu bilingually, in English and Japanese. Now it

is true that the Hilton is host, for the most part, to visiting businessmen and tourists rather than natives; nevertheless the menu does give a clue to the orientation of the San Francisco area.

We spoke above of the way in which the telephone directory provides fascinating reading to the specialist in ethnicity. It can be a wonderful cure for boredom as well. On the occasion that led the present writer to the Japanese-English menu, he was ensconced in the tinseled luxuries of the airport Hilton, not through choice or the weight of his pocketbook, but because of a dismal failure in airline equipment, promises, and schedules. He was stranded at the airport, too tired to go into the city itself, but sufficiently alert to pick up the Yellow Pages. Turning to the heading, "Radio Stations and Broadcasting Companies," he found no less than nine listings that seemed to give promise of heavy involvement in ethnic broadcasting: Far East Broadcasting, Fuji Telecast and Production, Greek-American Radio Hour, Hellenic American Broadcast, Irish American Center, KBRG-Spanish-International, Overseas Chinese Communications, Sing Tao Jih TV, and Sino Broadcasting Corp. When he returned to San Francisco a week later, he learned that list represented only the tip of the iceberg: there are broadcasts in at least 18 languages, including such uncommon ones as Aramaic, Estonian, and Tagalog.

San Francisco is not unusual, however, in suffering an alarming attrition in the numbers of hours available to ethnic broadcasters. KBRG ("Radio International"), which for years had been an outlet on which ethnic broadcasts occupied a significant proportion of the daily schedule, had by mid-April 1978 abandoned its multicultural daily programming for an all-Spanish format, reserving most of Sunday for its ethnic broadcasts. I discussed this change with Kenneth R. Carey, Vice President and General Manager of KBRG. Mr. Carey chose not to stress the past, but rather emphasized the number of programs on the air (on Sundays). He seemed to feel that ethnic radio producers were getting good treatment at the station--a view that is certainly not shared by the producers themselves, as we learn from the following two comments made to me:

> KBRG, and other stations, use the ethnic programs to boost their rates and listener statistics, then drop our programs. Rates, these days, are so high, that many longtime producers have simply quit, including a Japanese program on the air for a quarter-century, and a Chinese one on the air for thirty years.
>
> Radio stations use ethnic minority groups as bases to make money; then, as they get ahead, they kick our asses off. . . . The ethnic broadcaster is in the position of a tenant in an apartment house: stations use their ethnic programming to justify increases in power, after which they put the programs off the air.

What was the Sunday schedule of KBRG following the excision of the week-day programs? We reproduce below a hand-written schedule, kindly provided by Mr. Carey, and applicable for Spring 1978.

6:00-6:30 a.m.	Spanish
6:30-7:00	Filipino religious
7:00-7:30	Spanish (Argentinian)
7:30-8:00	Filipino religious
8:00-8:30	Portuguese religious
8:30-9:00	Estonian religious
9:00-10:00	Armenian
10:00-11:00	Polish
11:00-12:00	East Indian
12:00-1:00 p.m.	Assyrian
1:00-2:00	Irish
2:00-3:30	Italian
3:30-4:00	Russian Voice of Prophecy
4:00-5:00	Portuguese
5:00-6:00	Cantonese-Mandarin religious
6:00-6:30	Russian Voice of Life
6:30-7:00	Cantonese religious
7:00-8:00	Persian
8:00-8:30	Serbian
8:30-9:00	Japanese
9:00-11:00	Arabic
11:00-12:00	Spanish

I had the opportunity to speak at length to two veteran ethnic broadcasters in San Francisco, Mr. Angelo Montanos, whose Greek program has been on the air there for many years, and Mr. John Whooley, who has conducted an Irish program since 1960.

Mr. Montanos has presented the "Greek-American Radio Hour" for 30 years. He was graduated from the Stanford University School of Journalism in 1948. Originally, he worked with his father, Tassos, who owned the Greek newspaper in San Francisco until 1945, after which he represented the Atlantis, for which he wrote a column. Since Angelo wanted to retain a voice in Greek affairs, he went into broadcasting, first on KSAN (for ten years), next on KLOK (for ten years), then on KBRG (another ten years), and most recently on KFAX. His principal business is a downtown store and importing enterprise, selling Greek goods of all kinds, except foods. He indicated something about the intricate interrelationships that pervade small enterprises related to ethnicity when he pointed out that he, as an importer, had a fine assortment of Greek records in his shop. He uses some of these,

of course, for the musical portions of his program, and when he does so, finds that listeners come to his store to purchase copies. Mr. Montanos is concerned about many cultural and economic features of current ethnic broadcasting, and especially about the policy on his current station of allowing only six minutes of Greek language on a thirty-minute broadcast. Although, like ethnic broadcasters everywhere, he has long hoped for the opportunity to purchase a station, he has been unable to do so.

Montanos believes that the loss of ethnic radio causes community breakdown, because it eliminates what has become the main source of community news and cohesion. "The ethnic program," he says, "helps to Americanize people. How can you tell a newcomer what the Fourth of July is, if not in his own language?" When Montanos's Greek-born associate joined him in the back of the store, where we all crowded into the little studio that they maintain there, the associate, using imagery redolent of many a Hellenic folk song, said: "Ethnic broadcasting is a little tree and a weak one. Are you going to let it die?"

"Irish Holiday, U.S.A." is one of two broadcasts produced by Mr. John Whooley. It is aired on Saturday afternoons, from 4:30 until 5:00, on KFAX. Whooley's other program, "Bits from Blarney," is broadcast over KBRG on Sunday afternoons, from 1:00 until 2:00. John Whooley is the proprietor of the Irish Center of San Francisco, which is basically a travel agency and editorial headquarters for the San Francisco Irish newspaper that he publishes, "The Irish Herald." At the back of his establishment he keeps a large collection of Irish records that he uses in the production of his two broadcasts. Whooley (with his wife) is the proprietor, also, of the downtown Irish gift shop, "The Irish Castle." He manages to make all of his enterprises complementary: he advertises his businesses on his radio programs; he advertises his radio programs in his own newspaper.

John Whooley has been a broadcaster since Easter Monday 1969 over the same stations as his Greek colleague. He gives, as his reason for maintaining the broadcasts, not financial but rather cultural imperatives, saying that ethnic broadcasting makes a "deep-rooted contribution." In his own case, he assembles ten minutes of news from Ireland as a weekly feature on his Sunday broadcast. He describes this as an extremely time-consuming and laborious procedure which requries him to assemble his news from many disparate sources. But he knows of no other way for his listeners to obtain comprehensive news from Ireland. He speaks, by way of example, of a time when he reported on the death of a boy in Ireland, who turned out to be the nephew of one of his regular listeners.

In the last decade or two, Irish music has been the focal point of a controversy over just what constitutes "traditional" music. This is

an extremely complicated topic, bristling with terms misdefined, history misunderstood, and honeypots of sentiment. As far as Irish-American radio is concerned, it is by no means an academic topic, for it has led to a situation in which the Irish music loved by much of the older generation is seen by much of the younger as "non-traditional," as false, somehow, to "The Tradition." This has led to the paradoxical deification of the penny whistle, a product of English factories, and the indignant rejection of the concertina and accordion, products of European factories. Lost in the shuffle, unhappily, is the noble Irish-language singing tradition, which seems to interest almost no one in the United States.

Much as he might like to side-step this battle, the Irish-American broadcaster has no hope of doing so, if he is to attract a broad spectrum of listeners. John Whooley, therefore, programs a mixture of the "old" and the "new"--or is it the "new" and the "old"? Thus his listeners can avail themselves of the aural pleasures, not only of "The Chieftains," but also of "The Carlton Show Band" and Carmel Quinn. Unlike some of his colleagues elsewhere, however, he has decided not to play such classics as "The Six Foot Seven Woman" or "The Stuttering Lover." "How do I know," he asks, "that a very tall woman or a stutterer will not be insulted by these songs?" How indeed?

Whooley, like his counterparts in Philadelphia and elsewhere, frequently presents music designed to appeal especially to Scottish listeners. He has maintained this policy since the demise, long ago, of a Scottish program that was once broadcast in San Francisco. He often plays music drawn fom the same broad spectrum of the traditions as with the Irish: Kenneth McKellar and "The Boys of the Lough."

It happened that my visit to California coincided with a period of extreme excitement and tension in the Armenian community in the state. The cause was the annual celebration of Armenian Martyrs' Day, commemorating the massacres that culminated during World War I. Feelings rose very high in San Francisco during 1978, largely because of the actions of the Librarian of the University of California at Berkeley, who, in an excess of enthusiasm for freedom of information, "partially" banned an historical display memorializing the grisly events. "The full exhibit, entitled 'Armenia: the Perseverance of a People,' was originally installed by the Armenian [Student Association] at the campus on March 10" (San Francisco Chronicle, 12 April 1978, p. 2). The removal of portions of the exhibit (at the behest of the Turkish government and the Turkish Student's Association) inflamed the entire Armenian community and increased its militance.

The several Armenian radio broadcasts in California were, of course, affected by these events. In San Francisco, the "Armenian Hour," presented by "The Armenian Hour, Inc.," is heard over KBRG on Sunday mornings from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. English and Armenian are spoken by two separate announcers. The program of 16 April 1978 was largely

devoted to the Armenian-Turkish conflict:

1. Several songs about Hayastan (Armenia) and about the Turkish-Armenian conflict.
2. Reading of an editorial from the Oakland newspaper, condemning the University of California for its action in connection with the banning of the exhibit. ("Does the University have the right to stifle history? In Jerusalem the Israelis have set up a Museum of the Dead.")
3. Listing of an impressive array of commemorative radio and television, including programs on KFAX, KPIX, KCRA, KPFA, KOIN and KBHK.
4. Exhortations to attend the Martyrs' Day March, from the San Francisco Federal Building to the Hilton, and to attend the meeting at the Hilton.
5. Discussion of the work of the local commemorative committee.

The political nature of the Armenian program in San Francisco was, of course, at its height at this time. Nevertheless, it is not unique to that city, or to the Armenians, though their statelessness gives a special poignancy and urgency to their case. Wherever political conflict exists, it is reflected in ethnic broadcasitng, whether it be the Arab-Israeli situation (which is reflected from one or the other point of view depending upon which program you listen to); the Hellenic view of Cyprus; the Eastern European and Baltic view of the Soviet Union; the Irish view of the English role in Northern Ireland. If there is no overt discussion of political events (and there rarely is), it is difficult to avoid playing songs that have a political reference. This is not to say that broadcasters are overtly political: most are not, both in deference to their variegated audiences and to rules that govern fair play in broadcasting. But the presentation of the news alone, if it is compiled by one who reads a number of European newspapers, is bound to have a slightly different nuance from the news as given on a top-forty station.

There are other implications in ethnic broadcasting. A "Yugoslav Hour," for instance, is quite a different thing from a "Croatian Hour." The producer who programs the former is likely to support the present Yugoslav federation; the producer of the latter is possibly a Croatian nationalist. The same thing may in some cases be true of the "Czechoslovak Hour" as against separate Czech and Slovak programs. We would not wish the reader to have the impression that the total principle is a political one; after all, many of the "old-timers" came to the United States long before there was a Czechoslovak Republic or a Yugoslavia. The reality for them is Czech, Slovak, Serbian, or what have you, and the broadcasters serve them.

San Francisco is one of the handful of American cities that supports a relatively flourishing ethnic television industry, almost all

of which is aired over KEMO, Channel 20. It is located in an industrial and distribution center laced with canals and railroad tracks and dotted with warehouses on the outskirts of the city in a section that is never seen by tourists and is unfamiliar even to taxi drivers.

From Monday through Friday Channel 20 is almost entirely a Spanish-language operation, featuring news, soap operas, Mexican films, and Spanish children's programs. The principal daily English-language matter is the "700 Club" and the "PTL Club."

On weekends, KEMO assumes a much more cosmopolitan role: on Saturday evenings, commencing at 10:00 p.m., Japanese programming begins:

10:00 Nippon No Uta: Songs of Japan
11:00 Japanese Community News
11:15 "The Hired Swordsman": Japanese, with English subtitles

The Sunday schedule contains the following programs:

11:00 Orizzonti Cristiani: Italian Mass
12:00 Alabemos al Senor: Spanish Mass
5:30 Settimana Sportive
6:00 Re Di Cuori: Italian Community Show
7:30 Roger Boschetti Show: Italian-American variety
9:00 News from Japan
9:15 Historical Samurai: Japanese opera with English subtitles
10:00 Home Drama: Japanese opera, with English subtitles

About a year before this, TV Guide (Finnigan 1977), in a hyperbole-rich article on ethnic television, had described the offerings of KEMO in the following terms:

> Only the richness of ethnic TV could give us people like KEMO's Rene De La Rosa, Alvaro Bettuchi, Roger Boschetti, and Naji Baba--all of whom work there. Chris Hirose, who covers the Japanese community for KEMO, "has a tremendous following," according to station owner Leon Crosby. "He shows film clips from Japan, and people for Japantown come in and discuss what happened during the week--somebody's store burned down, somebody got married, somebody died. . . ."
>
> Roger Boschetti is the host for KEMO's Italian shows. But Boschetti, like many other ethnic stars, has another profession. He's an official of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. . . .

> Though we have mentioned it before, we might repeat that KEMO also has its own Catholic priest, known affectionately as "Father Efrem." "He's an Italian guy who says a Mass live from the studio on Sunday," Crosby said. "He has the altar and the altar boys, and on Sunday this place is filled with people going to Mass."

In addition to the ethnic offerings of KEMO, another station, Channel 26, televises Chinese and other national programs during the week.

LOS ANGELES

"Los Angeles, with a larger population of Mexican heritage than any other city except Mexico City, is considered the capital of MexAmerica" (Cannon 1978, p. 5). This ethnic factor is visible in all aspects of life in certain sections of the city and its surrounding municipalities. The huge Spanish-speaking population dominates downtown and contiguous areas, and shades off to 5% or under in other sections.

There are several other ethnically identifiable neighborhoods in Los Angeles: Chinatown is thriving; Japantown is commercially important; the section known as "Koreatown," a district a mile long a a few blocks wide, does not cater to tourists. Instead, "It is a young and growing, workaday community of about 100,000 Korean immigrants and has a serious awareness of its own roots" (Bush 1978, p. 22D).

Another active community that claims many Angelenos is the Armenian:

> Although Soviet Armenia is now the home of some 3 million Armenians, more than a half million Armenians live in the United States--and over 100,000 are concentrated in metropolitan Los Angeles. A fifth of the expatriate population lives in an area of Hollywood called "Little Armenia"--an enclave that stretches from Vermont to La Brea, bounded on the north by Griffith Park and on the south by Beverly Boulevard. Along Santa Monica Boulevard between Edgemont and Vermont, three solid blocks of Armenian shops and restaurants give evidence of their presence. (Robinson 1978, p. SC-25)

At the time of my visit to Los Angeles, preparations for Armenians Martyrs' Day dominated the community to the same extent as they did in San Francisco. The Los Angeles Times carried material on Armenian history; New West carried the article from which we quoted above; the many Armenian-owned stores in Glendale carried signs indicating that they would be closed on Monday, 24 April; "Happy Harry"

Hadigin, who produces the Armenian radio program on KTYM, was in a sombre mood as he announced the details of the commemoration.

Ethnic diversity in the Los Angeles area, then, goes far beyond the stereotype of the city as only the capital of Mexican America; we might, then, expect that the metropolis would be home to extensive and diverse ethnic broadcasting, and this is correct.

Los Angeles, however, is not an easy city to probe for its ethnic broadcasting. San Francisco has the merit of comparative compactness; New York has the virtue of its far-flung, efficient subway system, so valuable for the investigator who wishes to visit radio stations in the Bronx or Upper Manhattan. Los Angeles, by contrast, is far-flung, even prodigally laid out. The two stations that principally serve the ethnic communities are in Arcadia and Inglewood, and these two towns are separated by some thirty miles. It is even difficult to find a location from which one can easily hear both outlets.

KTYM, Inglewood, is a low-powered AM operation; KMAX, Arcadia, is an FM station. This pattern is typical of ethnic broadcasting in many cities in addition to Los Angeles.

KTYM, according to its program director, has broadcast ethnic programs for twenty years under one management, which envisioned the station as a partially ethnic operation from its inception. Like many other ethnic outlets, they feature religious broadcasts during the week. On weekends, they provide a heavy concentration of ethnic programs: Armenian, Croatian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Mexican, Polish, Rumanian, and Russian. He indicated that the information concerning ethnic programming given in Broadcasting Yearbook was incorrect, since it omitted much of KTYM's ethnic programming. Indeed, the publication errs very considerably by not listing literally hundreds of ethnic broadcasts that are on the air throughout the country.

The policy of KMAX FM, Arcadia, is somewhat different. They broadcast both Chinese and Japanese material each evening; their schedule otherwise is as follows:

Hungarian	Tuesday, 7:00-7:30 p.m.
Greek	Wednesday, 7:00-8:00
East Indian	Saturday, 1:00-2:00
Yugoslav	Saturday, 5:00-5:30
Persian	Saturday, 7:30-8:00
Dutch	Sunday, 11:00-12 noon

A sister station provides Arab programming on Wednesday evenings at 7:00.

All-Spanish programming is provided by several stations in the area, including, by the way, stations as far south as Tijuana. XEGM, in that city, consciously seeks a Los Angeles audience, and has been considered a difficult competitor by stations on the U.S. side of the border, because they must operate with certain constraints that do not apply to Mexican outlets. Other broadcasters operating in the Spanish market include KALI, KLV, and KWKW, all of which identify themselves in the telephone book as "Spanish Radio," or "Spanish Broadcasting Station." The material broadcast over these (and other) Spanish-language outlets constitutes a type of programming that is very different from what we discern to be the typical ethnic format. The principal dissimilarity is that, as we have seen, ethnic broadcasting is very much localized; Spanish-language radio appeals heavily to national advertisers: "The magazine Sales Marketing Management estimates that the Hispanic market has grown 23% since 1969, while the national market grew 4%. Now there are national television ads [in Spanish] for Chrysler cars and Kentucky Fried Chicken. In MexAmerica, Spanish or bilingual billboards and store displays are used to sell beer, radios, and razor blades" (Cannon 1978, p. B-4).

The situation is the same in every large Spanish market, whether it be Chicago, Miami, New York, or Tampa. Language and ethnicity, after all, are not the same thing. An Ecuadorian program (in Spanish, of course) is an ethnic broadcast in our sense of the term; most programs on KLV are not.

Ethnic television in Los Angeles is represented on two channels, KMEX (Channel 24), which, as its call-letters indicate, broadcasts to the Mexican community, and KWHY (Channel 22), which presents diversified programming aimed at Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and Korean audiences.

The Jewish programming is aired twice weekly, on Sunday afternoon, and on Tuesday. Though the wretched TV set in my hotel room was altogether incapable of picking up anything from UHF transmitters but swirls and buzzes, an indefatigable writer for TV Guide describes the stations activities in the following words:

> KWHY in Los Angeles is another center of multinational activity. The American Israel Jewish Hour is on that station twice a week and its co-hosts are David Paul Kane--a stockbroker--and Linda Tallen. Kane said the show presents "a spiritual point of view" plus entertainment. Los Angeles renowned Rabbi Edgar Magnin has appeared there. So has Roman Catholic Cardinal Timothy Manning. And authors and performers also drop by.
>
> "Thirty percent of our audience is gentile, because a lot of people have an affinity for Israel," Kane said. In

the "Israel Reports" feature, viewers have seen Danny Kaye leading the Israel Philharmonic, pianist Arthur Rubenstein and various archaelogical digs. The program also shows films from Israel. (Finnigan 1977).

Though some Chinese and Korean material is broadcast on KWHY, most evenings are devoted for the most part to Japanese broadcasts designed to appeal to all segments of the family. There are cartoons, cooking lessons, animated features, and movies. (See the television listings in the Los Angeles Times for 23-29 April 1978.)

ARIZONA

The most significant component of ethnic radio broadcasting in Arizona is broadcasting by and for Navajos. Of the several stations that beam programs to the Navajo Reservation, we concentrated on WCLS, which transmits "Navajo Country Time" from Flagstaff from 5:00 until 6:00 a.m. daily. The program is produced and announced by Miss Joline Begay, an energetic young woman who is otherwise employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Flagstaff. Miss Begay plans to pursue a career in media; she is a student at Northern Arizona University, studying public relations, sociology, and communications. Miss Begay was Miss Navajo in 1974-1975; her prizes consisted of two trips to Europe. She was employed at the Montreal Olympics, and expects to be at the 1980 Moscow Games.

If "Navajo Country Time" is not aired at the most convenient time for roving investigators of ethnic broadcasting, it is nevertheless aired at a time appropriate to its early-rising audience, which consists mainly of sheepherding families. "Navajo Country Time," as its title indicates, is built around a country-music formula. ("Navajos," says Miss Begay, "like country music.") Music aside, the broadcast features local news, announcements of local events, discussion of available social services, and other items that are of particular interest to Navajos. This latter segment of the program is produced by the Navajo Film and Media Commission, a unit of the government of the Navajo Nation, based in Window Rock, Arizona. The Commission makes this material available on a daily basis to stations in towns that rim the reservation, including, in addition to Flagstaff and Window Rock, Farmington, Gallup, and Holbrook.

Miss Begay's economic relationship to KCLS is not typical of ethnic broadcasting, for she is employed by the station, which solicits her advertising accounts. Advertising for "Navajo Country Time" is almost altogether restricted to local organizations and services, such as local supermarkets and auto dealers.

Stepping for a moment across a state line (and thus into another chapter of this work) we might note here that another station that broadcasts extensively to Navajos is KGAK, Gallup, New Mexico. We had at considerable difficulty arranged an overnight stop in Gallup for the purpose of recording some of this material, only to find, upon arrival, that one of the savants who masterminds baggage-losing for Frontier Airlines had contrived to send our tape-recorder and tuner on to Phoenix, from where we retrieved it just in time to leave for Santa Fe. KGAK, however, has been presenting Navajo-language programming since about 1950; the idea has been commercially successful since its inception. Program content includes Anglo and Navajo music, news, health, and advice on social services. An advertisement in Navajo, by the way, is said to take about two-and-one half times as long as would the same message in English (Hyatt 1964, p. 4).

The Navajo Film and Media Commission also produces a television program, the "Navajo Nation Report" which in Flagstaff is broadcast over WOIA (Channel 7) from 4:00 until 4:30 p.m. On the occasions on which this writer watched it, "Navajo Nation Report" consisted entirely of news and public affairs in Navajo, presided over by a single anchorman. Like its radio counterpart, the TV broadcast is aired over stations in several other cities, among them Albuquerque.

The growth of American Indian broadcasting has been steady, with at least 50 stations in 18 states reporting programs in 1978. In 1943 there seems to have been only one such broadcast in the nation, over WNAD, Norman, Oklahoma, which even today carries a similar broadcast (Time, 31 May 1943).

NEVADA

Though the present author did not find it possible to set foot in Nevada during his travels for the present project, it happened that the American Folklife Center was conducting research in the area of Elko. This city is headquarters for the strong Basque culture of the area; it is the host for the National Basque Festival, which takes place each July, and gives widely-scattered Basques, who are principally involved with sheepherding, an opportunity to renew acquaintance once each year. There is a direct relationship between Basque radio in Elko and this festival: in 1978 plans were underway for broadcasting a Basque Mass that highlights the yearly festival.

The Basque program was begun by Mr. Jesus Lopategui in 1969. He came to the United States about 1957, as a sheepherder, and, like many another immigrant, began eventually to do other work, including cooking, bartending, and finally blacksmithing (his father-in-law's business). At the present time, he is no longer a regular host on the program because he has trained other persons to produce it.

The Basque broadcast is presented entirely in the Basque language. Like many other ethnic programs, it features recorded music, announcements of community events, advertisements, an occasional live interview or musical presentation, and announcements of birthdays, weddings, and anniversaries. During the early years of the program, Mr. Lopategui made it a policy to interview one old-timer each week. Though some of these interviews are preserved on tape at the Basque Study Center at the University of Nevada, Reno, many were not kept.

Advertisers, in another pattern common to most ethnic broadcasters, are local Basque merchants and a local bank. "They are the ones that really pay the bill for the radio station," said Mr. Lopategui, who went on to explain that the producers donate their time, and that the Basque Club helps by obtaining records and newspapers. From scanning the latter, he was able to give an adequate summary of news from the Basque country. He said that, although it took a great deal of work and time, it was worthwhile. "I enjoy doing it, " he said, as an explanation of his reasons for undertaking such an arduous task.

CHAPTER X

SOUTHWEST AND SOUTH CENTRAL AREA

The eight states included in this geographic subdivision comprise not only a vast area in miles, but a very large degree of ethnic diversity as well. Since the usual image of the area (which comprises Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas), does not include ethnic diversity, it might be well to point out briefly just how ethnically variegated the section is. In the first place, it includes a large and diverse American Indian population, with many cultural and linguistic differences. Second, Louisiana maintains its powerful French traditions. Third, several states in the area possess large and culturally important Afro-American populations (both Anglophone and French-speaking). Fourth, there is a huge--and rapidly expanding--Spanish-speaking component. Fifth, the southwest and south central area contains a remarkably diversified group of European ethnic communities.

Faced with this richness, the peripatetic investigator finds his resolution collapsing under the weight of too much choice. This writer decided to include one large metropolitan area (Denver) for ethnic diversity, to study the Acadian culture of Louisiana, to visit the Tribal Headquarters of the Southern Ute tribe at Ignacio, Colorado for a glimpse at American Indian radio, to look at the two very Hispanic communities of Santa Fe and El Paso, and to visit Rosenberg, Texas, home of a large Czech population with a good deal of ethnic radio. "Plans," Robert Burns reminds us, "gang aft agley," as they did when my train sailed past Rosenberg, at which it stopped only on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

Spanish speakers come from both "old" and "new" immigrations, in precisely the same way as the German speakers, Irish, or Jews came in successive waves. The "old" Spanish-speaking population, of course, has been in the region for hundreds of years; the new immigrant may well have arrived yesterday.

> In the United States, the Mexican-American population, which may have been severely undercounted in the 1970 census, is growing steadily and is believed to total more than 7 million in the Southwest alone.
>
> By the mid-1980s, the number of Hispanic Americans--including immigrants from Caribbean islands and South America as well as Mexico--is expected to exceed the 40 million projected for American blacks.

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> Increasingly in MexAmerica, Spanish is the language of the airways. The Southwest used to have only a handful of Spanish-language stations. Now there are 37 in Texas, 28 in California, six in Arizona, four in New Mexico.
>
> In Midland, Tex., cable televison brings in the Spanish-language channel from San Antonio. In California, Los Angeles based Channel 34 serves an audience of 2 million from San Diego to San Francisco with all-day broadcasting of news, variety shows and movies. At 7 p.m. daily the news-oriented Mexican-American customarily sits down to watch anchorman Xavier Calodsky, known as the Walter Cronkite of Mexico, over the Spanish Information Network. (Cannon 1978, p. B-5)

As far as the non-Iberian European ethnic groups are concerned, they moved, both in groups and one-by-one, into every corner of the area. It was not at all by accident that both Carl Schurz and Pulitzer decided to settle in Saint Louis: they had been preceded by numerous German speakers, some of whom had disembarked at New Orleans, and others who had come overland from New York. Germans arrived in Texas in 1844, to the town they named New Braunfels, in the then Republic of Texas (Hansen 1961, p. 233).

There was a flourishing German-American cultural life in Texas before the turn of the century. "Galveston was then [1872-1900] the wealthiest, swankiest city in Texas, and German male choruses came there from all over the state to compete for prizes. Competition was keen and the Saengerfeste--everybody used the word--were outstanding musical events; everybody went" (Emily Fearhake, quoted in Adamic 1945, p. 179). The German tradition of New Braunfels has been perpetuated in radio broadcasting: KNBT of that city programmed four hours weekly in 1978.

Other groups in the eight-state area include the Germans from Russia, who are so prominently represented in Colorado and Kansas; the East Texas Czechs; the Hungarians of South Louisiana; the Jewish communities found in most towns and cities; the Eastern Orthodox who have founded communities in most cities in the region. (There are about 50 Orthodox churches in the eight states; see the Handbook of American Orthodoxy 1972, passim.)

This is a vast section, this eight-state area, and the researcher who is allotted about 80 days of travel time to cover the United States is faced here with great logistical difficulties. This writer managed to touch base in four of the eight states, including Colorado, Louisiana, New Mexico, and a bit of Texas. The choice, in part, was based on the imperatives of airline and train schedules. Though I might have investigated a good deal of ethnic programming in Houston and Dallas (German and Greek), the most serious lacunae in the present project consists, I

believe, of the omission of the Texas Czechs, and the diversified American Indian broadcasting of Oklahoma and several other states. One can only hope that the present study will encourage others based in the region to carry out further detailed studies.

IGNACIO

Ignacio, Colorado, is by all odds the smallest town I visited in the course of the research into ethnic radio. It is about 20 miles east of the legendary city of Durango. Ignacio is the Tribal Headquarters of the Southern Ute tribe; the tribal complex contains a radio station, KSUT, a modern motel and conference center, a museum, a library, a classroom complex, and recreational facilities. The Ignacio telephone directory lists about 400 subscribers.

KSUT is a low-powered FM station in the public service portion of the spectrum. It was built mainly with Federal funds (from the Indian Technical Assistance Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs). KSUT fills a vital need in the Ignacio area, where so many families live far removed from roads, stores, and sources of entertainment and news. Leonard Birch, the Tribal Chairman, told me that the station serves the community extremely well, and stressed its importance to <u>all</u> the people of the district. By this he meant to stress that though the station is built on Ute territory, with a Ute station manager and call-letters that symbolize the tribal affiliation, it is nevertheless designed to serve the three ethnic communities of Ignacio: "Anglos," Spanish people, and Utes. KSUT, from its design and initial operation, has been multicultural.

Mrs. Lillian Seibel, the station manager, was extremely generous with her time, though moments with her had to be snatched from her busy schedule of community meetings, air time, and station administration. She was not the least bit interested in discussing her own history, but from an article in the <u>Denver Post</u> (Bishop 1977, p. 30) we learn that she is "wife, mother, and college educated." She is well aware that radio can provide help in exposing the problems of the community, and she has instituted a training program that "provides training for young men and women who wish to pursue a career in broadcasting and communications" (ibid., p. 30). Her programming decisions, then, are born out of an intimate understanding of the needs of the Ignacio community.

She has been notably successful in obtaining community input into the station; a device that she has used more than once is a questionnaire, in which local residents are asked about their programming preferences. I was able to examine the responses, and summarize them here.

The over-50 group preferred classical and Native American music; they were highly interested in religion and history; least in politics and drama.

The 35-50 year olds chose jazz as their first preference; native American music came second; rock and classical tied for third. This group chose children's stories and history as their favorite verbal material; politics, once again, had few adherents.

Many 20-35 year olds were explicit in their desire for Native American and Southern Ute music and cultural material; several suggested playing the music of Native American rock groups. This age classification also asked for country, folk, and bluegrass; they showed no enthusiasm for classical or Gospel music.

The high-school and junior high contingent, not surprisingly, chose rock overwhelmingly; country western and bluegrass were a distant second and third; comedy was their first choice for spoken material.

Among more general comments were the following. Several persons thought that the station was not on the air for a long enough period daily. (It had been leaving the air at 5:00 p.m.) One individual believed that "the people that talk on the air should learn to speak better English and more clearly." Another stated: "Don't play bubble-gum music!" As a rule, though, the responses exhibited a great deal of satisfaction with KSUT.

The schedule of daytime programs on KSUT, then, is clearly the product of cogitation, community input, and soul-searching. In mid-1978, it was as follows:

7:00 a.m.	Sign-on
8:15 a.m.	Easy listening music
9:00 a.m.	Community news; job announcements
9:45 a.m.	"Outdoor News" (Mon., Weds., Fri.)
10:00 a.m.	"Spectrum 77" interview program
10:30 a.m.	Community news; job announcements; Children's stories
11:00 a.m.	Regional/National/International news
11:30 a.m.	"Homecrafts on the Air" (Mon.) "Bookmark" (Weds.) "Ute Language" (Fri.) "Native American Music" (Other days)
12:00 a.m.	"Sounds of CU" Musical variety
1:30 p.m.	Community news; job announcements
2:00 p.m.	"Musica de Espanol"
3:00 p.m.	"Educational Program" Musical variety
4:30 p.m.	Community news; job announcements

KSUT, like many small educational and community stations, is operated by a small professional staff and by volunteers. All evening

broadcasters are volunteers from the community, and some of them, as we pointed out earlier, hope to enter the broadcasting industry. The young man who is responsible for the Native American music programs is the son of the ceremonial leader of the tribe.

One extremely unusual feature of this out-of-the-ordinary enterprise is that, in contrast to nearly all American radio, the entire regular staff is female.

Ignacio has a number of Native American students from other tribes resident in order to attend boarding school, and thus they are aware of the existence and potential of radio on the reservation. Tribal Chairman Birch told me that delegations from other tribes have come to Ignacio to study KSUT, hoping to apply its method at their communities.

DENVER

Denver, according to the 1970 census, had a population of 514,000, making it nearly identical with Pittsburgh. But there the resemblance ends, for, while Denver has gained 30% since 1950, Pittsburgh has lost nearly that percentage. Thus, the demographic patterns of the two cities are opposite. A good part of the recent migration to Denver has been composed of young persons, many of whom have been attracted to the area by notions induced by "John Denver." Many of them must be disappointed in the city, one of the smoggiest in the United States. The Denver area contains about 25% of the population of Colorado; some 12% of the state's population is Hispanic; the next linguistic group is the German, with about 100,000 individuals claiming German as their mother tongue. About 20% of the population of Colorado speaks a language other than English as a native tongue. The Native American component, small though it may be in absolute numbers, is nevertheless an important element in the linguistic and cultural diversity of the state.

Denver itself is extremely diverse ethnically, though this element is not immediately noticeable, as it is in Pittsburgh. It has nearly one hundred Lutheran churches (reflecting the large German and Scandinavian element in the city); there are thirteen synagogues, two Ukrainian and three Russian churches, a Byzantine Rite Catholic church, a Greek Orthodox cathedral, a Sikh temple, and five Buddhist congregations, serving the Chinese and Japanese communities of the city.

To what degree does radio in Denver reflect this considerable diversity? A survey published in 1964 indicated the presence in Colorado of the following non-English-language radio programs: 23 Spanish, five German, two Italian, two Polish, and one each of Japanese, Slovene, and French programs. There were three Ute broadcasts, and one Navajo. (American Council for Nationalities Service 1964, pp. 16-17). In addition,

we learn from other sources that Croatian, Hungarian, Latvian, and Czechoslovak programs were being aired then, and as recently as 1975 (Rocky Mountain News, 13 October 1975, p. 6).

By the time of our study in 1977, a drastic shift had taken place, with a marked decrease in all but Spanish-language programming. The reasons for the decline cannot easily be attributed to insufficient audiences, in a state with as large a potential group of listeners as we have indicated. Rather, it is the result of management policy. The last decade, as we have learned elsewhere, has been one in which absentee ownership has flourished as never before, and in which radio executives have tumbled all over themselves to find a successful single formula for their stations.

At least two examples of this can be found in the Denver area. The former KFSC (now KPNO, 1220 kc), which in 1963 broadcast in Spanish, Polish, Japanese, German, and French, is now exclusively a Spanish-language station, calling itself "El Sono Latino de Denver." It is quite clear that the burgeoning Spanish market makes this policy a money-maker. Another station that abandoned its ethnic programming claimed to be losing money. Under the headline "Ethnic Music Lovers Loud in Protest of Station Policy" the Rocky Mountain News (13 October 1975) described how KBRN in Brighton (a suburb of Denver) had announced that it was dropping all of its ethnic broadcasts in favor of a totally religious format. KBRN had broadcast ethnic programs for at least two decades; when it adopted its new mien it abandoned Croatian, German, Hungarian, Latvian, Mexican, Polish, and Slovene broadcasts. Photos accompanying the article showed a group of pickets marching around the station threatening a protest to the F.C.C. One musician, Dick Zavadny, provided a valuable sidelight on the economic effects of the change when he pointed out that he and his band had depended "on an ethnic station playing [their] records so they can get bookings" (ibid.).

The protest, of course, came to nothing, and by October 1977 KBRN described itself as providing "Christian teaching and discussion programs--Contemporary Christian music sunrise to sunset." Whether this format will prove an unmixed blessing for the corporation that owns KBRN is questionable, for it is one of four outlets in the Denver area programming mainly religious music.

We have seen how--and why--Spanish-language broadcasting has achieved a large growth pattern over the last two decades, in Denver and elsewhere. In the nation at large, Spanish broadcasting accounts for almost two-thirds of the non-English total, according to Warshauer (1966, p. 86). A recent survey indicated that there were then 98 Spanish-language stations in the United States (National Endowment for the Arts 1977, p. 63). This substantial increment has not been accomplished without friction, as we have seen in Modesto. The Denver Post (9 May 1974, p. 23), printed the following headline:

"Chicano Protest at KOA-TV; Policy Discrimination Claimed." Denver newspapers have contained scores of similar headlines over the years, as, for that matter, have papers in most other large cities.

The friction caused by the whole matter has another side: not infrequently a nascent Spanish or black station takes over an existing ethnic outlet, as we have just seen in the case of KFSC/KPNO. (An additional example is WAMO, Pittsburgh, formerly a multi-ethnic operation, which, when a black management took over, removed all of its ethnic programming.) The displaced ethnic producer, then, becomes resentful over what he sees as the success of one minority at the expense of another. Patterson (1969, p. 101) quotes a poor Greek immigrant in Denver: "I don't like all this chicano power stuff. . . . What about Greek power? Look at us poor bastards, living down here in this crummy slum." One can hardly imagine that this sort of attitude was mitigated by the action of KFSC/KPNO in dropping all of its other ethnic broadcasts in favor of an all-Spanish format.

As far as Colorado's second-largest linguistic group, the German, is concerned, there was a three-hour weekly broadcast every Sunday from 10:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m., over KADX FM. "Musical Greetings from Germany" follows a normal formula, with ads for local German delicatessens and restaurants interspersed with public-service announcements and music. As is common on German-language broadcasts, the producer selects several long selections from German operettas--a choice that clearly indicates that the audience he expects is an older one. However, many of the ads are recorded by an English-speaking announcer, probably because many non-Germans listen to the program.

The situation in ethnic broadcasting around Denver, then, is directly keyed to the most obvious demographic fact: the largest linguistic groups are represented by broadcasts; all others are silent.

SANTA FE

Ethnic programming in New Mexico seems to be carried on only for Spanish-speakers and Native Americans; I was unable to learn of any other ethnic groups thus served. I planned, therefore, to utilize Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, for the investigation of Spanish material, reasoning that it was high, more or less in the center of a region that included several Spanish programmers, and thus ideally suited for recording and investigation.

I was especially anxious, too, to include samples drawn from one of the oldest layers of Spanish-speaking groups in the United States; we do not need to remind our readers that the city of Sante Fe was founded in 1610. Nor is it necessary to stress that such antique

cultural manifestations as the "Pastores" plays and the penitents flourish in an area surrounding Sante Fe.

The entrancing capital of New Mexico has the appearance of a Spanish-American city; its history is Spanish-American; but its radio hardly expresses the same heritage. Of the five radio stations in the city, only one, KTRC, presents Spanish-language material, and that is at 7:00-9:00 a.m. The nearest station that broadcasts mainly in Spanish is at the appropriately-named town of Espanola, even higher in the mountains, about 20 miles north of Sante Fe. KBSO-FM and KDCE are sister stations, broadcasting similar or identical material. During my periods of listening, they broadcast a Spanish pop format, with ads for local merchants and auto dealers, a few national ads (Olympia Beer was one), public service material of the "Crime-stoppers" variety, and A.B.C. news in English.

So far as ethnic television in the Santa Fe area is concerned, one channel, 23, KMXN, shows mainly Spanish material, with time out for baseball. KOAT, in Albuquerque, broadcasts the televised "Navajo Report" at 7:00 a.m. each Sunday. We discuss this program, which is produced by the Navajo Nation in Window Rock, in our account of ethnic broadcasting in Flagstaff, Arizona.

A recent (undated) list issued by the local telephone company indicates that of the 95 or so broadcasting stations in New Mexico about 26 produce "bilingual" material. The cities mentioned are: Alamagordo, Albuquerque, Artesia, Carlsbad, Deming, Espanola, Farmington, Grants, Las Cruces, Las Vegas, Portales, Ramah, Roswell, Santa Fe, Santa Rosa, and Taos. Though the listing does not differentiate between Spanish and Native American material, the likelihood is that the latter is heard in Albuquerque, Farmington, Gallup (not mentioned on the list), Ramah, and Taos. A glance at the map indicates that ethnic broadcasting is quite well distributed throughout the state, from Carlsbad and Deming in the south, to Taos and Espanola in the north; from Farmington in the west, to Portales in the east. The likelihood is that most citizens of New Mexico can, if they wish, tune in to Spanish-language radio. Indeed, there are more exotic possibilities. (I use the word in its correct sense.) More than once, listening at night, I picked up a station in Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico.

CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT LAKES STATES

Of the five states included in the Great Lakes area, we have included material from three: Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan. Some of the richest and most diverse ethnic broadcasting in the United States was gleaned in the Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit areas. All three cities are well known for their ethnic diversity; each of them is a repository of highly-developed ethnic consciousness; each of them has developed institutions that reflect that consciousness--including ethnic broadcasting. Each city has attracted immigrants from all over the globe, to work in stockyards, mills, factories, railroads, and municipalities. The huge migrations of recent years have often originated in North America itself: Detroit has attracted immigrants from the Appalachians and the Deep South; Chicago has become home to an enormous influx of Mexicans.

CHICAGO

> These people of Chicago represent a varied ethnic and racial mix. From the Native Americans who gave the city its name--Checagou--to the restless Easterners who came West in search of land and opportunity, to the hundreds of thousands of venturesome immigrants from Europe, Asia and Latin America who brought with them the foods and customs of the Old World, to the southern blacks and Appalachians who have come more recently in hopes of finding better jobs and housing--all have contributed to the city's strength and vitality. (Mobil Travel Guide: Great Lakes Area 1978, p. 9)

The area has been the focal point for a great deal of writing in which ethnic diversity is explored. The most recent non-fiction work of this kind is the American Folklife Center's A Report on the Chicago Ethnic Arts Project (1978), in which the cultures of persons from about two dozen ethnic backgrounds are probed. Another large-scale effort, with continuing publications, has been the "Gary Project" of Indiana University, under the direction of Richard Dorson.

The city, moreover, has inspired numerous literary works that delineate the nature of ethnic life and relations in Chicago. Among important novels and short stories in this genre are works by Nelson Algren, Harry Mark Petrakis, James T. Farrell, and Upton Sinclair. (Many such works are listed in the bibliography of A Report on the Chicago Ethnic Arts Project, pp. 517-561.)

There are many cities in the United States where one listens to radio day after day, hoping to find an hour or so of ethnic broadcasting--which, if it comes at all, is likely to be aired on Sunday. This is not true of Chicago, which, on the contrary, is a veritable aural cornucopia. Indeed, the person who tries, in a few days, to understand the extent and diversity of ethnic broadcasting in Chicago spends a good deal of time desperately twisting the dial from station to station; flicking from AM to FM; rising early; going to bed late; tuning the TV in and out.

More than one author has commented on the intensely ethnic nature of Chicago's neighborhoods:

> The neighborhood towns were part of larger ethnic states. To the north of the Loop was Germany. To the northwest Poland. To the west were Italy and Israel. To the southwest were Bohemia and Lithuania. And to the south was Ireland. It wasn't perfectly defined because the borders shifted as newcomers moved in on the old settlers, sending them fleeing in terror and disgust. Here and there were outlying colonies, with Poles also on the South Side, and Irish up north.
>
> But you could always tell, even with your eyes closed, which state you were in by the odors of the food stores and the open kitchen windows, the sound of the foreign or familiar language, and by whether a stranger hit you in the head with a rock. (Royko 1971, p. 24)

In recent years, however, Chicago has seen monumental population shifts, so that many of the old neighborhoods are only shadows of their former selves. But this has not altered people's perceptions of themselves as belonging to one ethnic group or another. Indeed, the physical dispersal of the old communities has probably increased the importance of ethnic broadcasting, since the network formed by radio carries signals to all directions without prejudice.

In the following passage, another Chicago author describes the iron-clad nature of neighborhood in the city:

> If one travelled west from our neighborhood, across Cottage Grove Avenue, to the location of my father's church, the district was almost completely Negro, Cottage Grove being the dividing line. . . . Across the street from our church and school was a Roman Catholic church and parish school. That was a foreign country ruled by long-black-skirted, white-cowled sisters with the awesome capacity to deliver bare-handed blows that equaled the force of the ones struck by our teachers

> with sticks. . . . Reflecting the neighborhood, most of the students in the Catholic school were Negroes. We came as interlopers from the white neighborhood across Cottage Grove. Black and white, we were mortal enemies, constantly at war. Our assaults and forays against one another ranged from curses and stone-throwing to full-scale battles with fists and sticks. I cannot remember anyone getting killed, which was a wonder considering the number of broken teeth and bloody heads. After such encounters our teachers pulled us inside and beat us, much as the Negro boys were being beaten across the street. The punishment served only to intensify our fury. (Petrakis 1970, pp. 39-41)

Eventually the Greek Orthodox church of which Petrakis's father was priest decided to sell the old building and locate in another area. At this period there was much tension in the neighborhood because of accelerating ethnic change:

> When the first Negro families crossed South Park, for years a dividing line between white and black residences and apartments, a group of white landlords brought my father a petition to sign, asking property owners to resist the invasion by refusing to rent or to sell to Negroes. They explained that although my father was not a property owner himself, his position as priest of a large Greek parish would add luster and force to the catalogue of signatures. My father listened courteously and then told them if they obtained his boss's signature, he would be permitted to sign.
>
> "Your bishop?" they asked.
>
> "The Big Boss," my father said. "Jesus Christ." (Petrakis 1970, pp. 137-138)

In a repetition of a pattern that we have discerned in some other cities, many of the "Chicago" ethnic stations are actually located outside the city limits, where lower rents are available. These stations and communities include the following:

Evanston:	WEAW, WLTD, WOJO
Gary:	WLTH
Hammond:	WJOB
Highland Park:	WQVQ
LaGrange:	WTAQ
Oak Park:	WOPA
Waukegan:	WEFA

Of the stations in Chicago itself that carry substantial amounts of ethnic programming, one, WNIB, is a mainly classical, "Good Music" station, broadcasting more than twelve hours daily of such material. From Monday to Friday, 7:00 until 8:00 a.m., there is a Lithuanian program, and from 8:00 until 9:00 a Greek broadcast. On weekends there are various other ethnic hours.

The other main carriers of ethnic broadcasts in Chicago are WCRW, WEDC, and WSBC; all of these share a single AM frequency (1240) and divide up the broadcast day among themselves. This sharing process, by the way, results in far lower costs to each of the participants, but is infrequently utilized, though WEVD and WPOW, New York, operate in this fashion.

Nearly all of the stations broadcasting from the Chicago region are AM outlets broadcasting from frequencies above 1200, with a power of not more than 1000 watts. Consequently, their ranges are limited, and it is difficult to hear south-of-Chicago stations from the North Shore--and vice-versa.

As in San Francisco, it is easy to locate many ethnic producers by the simple device of recourse to the Yellow Pages. In Chicago, six broadcasters are listed:

Croatian Radio Program--Free Croatia
Hellenic Interlude Show
Hungarian-American Broadcast Service
Italian Radio Theater Club
Lithuanian Radio Forum
Serbian Radio Program

Though we might unthinkingly suppose that it would be an easy matter to locate an ethnic program through the host radio station, this is by no means always the case. In Chicago, as elsewhere, ethnic broadcasters move frequently from station to station; moreover, station switchboard operators often seem to have difficulty in finding the names and addresses of their ethnic producers. Again, stations, restlessly seeking improved profits, often change formats. The most recent instance of this occurred in Chicago at WOJA, Evanston, which gave up its varied ethnic broadcasts in favor of an all-Spanish format.

There are many cities (Pittsburgh, for example) where ethnic programs are available only on Sundays. This is by no means true in Chicago, where one can tune in at almost any time of any day and find a variety of ethnic broadcasts. Numerous programs (including Czechoslovak, Greek, Lithuanian, and Polish) are aired on a daily basis; at least one station maintains a Saturday morning schedule; others scatter their programs throughout the week.

Certain nationalities are given a considerable choice of programs: a recent list of Hellenic broadcasts in the Greek Star (American Folklife Center 1978, p. 141) advertised 17 different Greek broadcasts. By June 1978, however, the list was so out of date as to be almost useless as a locator of programs, because of the volatility of the radio industry, whose managers, constantly seeking the pot of gold, change formats as others do socks. The format change at WOJO, for example, dispersed nine ethnic broadcasters to the winds.

If this instability is too common in ethnic radio, the reverse is also possible: one program in Chicago celebrated its 45th anniversary on the air in 1978. This was "The Polish Sunshine Hour," whose hostess is Lidia Pucinska, who was 81 at the time of the anniversary. "She, for 33 years, has been getting up at 4 a.m., an ungodly hour for most, but one that suits her remarkable energies. For 45 years, she has been catching her cab at 5:45 a.m. and arriving at station WEDC promptly at 6. 'I like to get here early so everything be correct,' she says. 'It's important to me that everything be correct'" (Preston 1977).

Mrs. Pucinska appeared in the news in April 1977, not perhaps as much because of the anniversary of her broadcast as because her son, Roman Pucinski, was a Chicago mayoral candidate in the primary. The article, itself, however, contains useful information:

> Between 6 and 8 a.m. every morning she pieces together a show that skips from news to commentary to medical notes to public service to weddings to births to deaths to good music to special recipes, all in Polish, all in her own sweet style. The highlight of the hour seems to be the 15-minute dramatic reading that is a one-woman tour de force, with Mrs. Pucinska all dressed up in a nice dress and hat, playing all the different parts, using different voices and lots of emotion. (Preston 1977)

But many Poles in Chicago are not satisfied simply to maintain the status quo in broadcasting: there were press reports that the co-chairmen of the Italian-Polish Conference, Ted Kowalski and Chuck Caravella, were concerned that the news staffs of Chicago's TV stations did not include "high-visibility" reporters with Italian or Polish surnames. The Conference represents about 50 organizations in the Chicago area; it seeks to increase recognition of, and respect for, the two ethnic groups.

The great diversity and richness of ethnic radio in the Chicago area offers an extraordinary opportunity for meaningful research in communications, folklore, or ethnomusicology. The present author, of

course, was once again in the position of the child in a magnificent toy shop, glimpsing so much, but able to possess so little. In the course of only about five days (during which his constant, if unwelcome, companion was a tooth abscess), he managed to record and study broadcasts in the following traditions: Croatian, Czech, Filipino, Greek (3), Hindu, Hungarian, Italian (3), Polish (2), Polka, Scandinavian, Serbian (2), Serbian from Sumadija, Viennese, and Yugoslav.

Chicago is one of a handful of American cities that possesses abundant ethnic television. As in most other cities, the ethnic programs are mainly confined to a single channel (in this case, 26). As is often the case (for example, in San Francisco and Los Angeles), the bulk of the broadcasts are designed for a Spanish-speaking audience, with most of the ethnic programs aired on Sunday. Here is the line-up of Sunday ethnic programming on channel 26 (on 11 June 1978):

Joe Reyes Philippine Review	9:30-10:00
Voice of Assyrians	2:30-3:00
Angelo Liberati	3:00-4:00
Bob Lewandowski	4:30-5:00
Benny Zucchini	6:00-7:00
Hellenic Theater	7:00-8:00
Lithuanian TV	8:30-9:00
Greek World	9:30-10:00
John and George Trakakis	10:00-11:00

"The Bob Lewandowski Show" was discussed in an article from TV Guide already quoted (Finnigan 1977):

> In the Midwest, a major star of ethnic TV is Bob Lewandowski of WCIO in Chicago. As host of the Bob Lewandowski Show, he presents such specials as "Two Hundred Years"--chronicling 200 years of Polish contributions to the U.S. Lewandowski's program is aimed at an estimated 1,000,000 people of Polish extraction living around Chicago. A graduate of Warsaw's Academy of Dramatic Arts, Lewandowski has been a feature of the Windy City's Polish TV scene for thirteen years.
>
> "I have an hour a week on TV in Polish," he said. "The show is composed of several segments. First I show a movie that I buy from Poland. The second segment is a short interview with someone who is prominent and who is of Polish descent, or who is of importance to the Polish community. Senator Charles Percy went to Poland, and when he came back we put him on the show.

We have twice witnessed a connection between ethnic broadcasting in Chicago and politics; and the city is famous for maintaining

the connection between ethnicity and political office. As Mike Royko points out in Boss (1971, p. 36), the ethnically balanced ticket has for many years been a feature of Chicago politics:

> Anton (Tony) Cermak . . . . had the sense to count up all the Irish votes, then he counted all the Italians, Jews, Germans, Poles, and Bohemians. The minority Irish domination didn't make sense to him. . . .
>
> By creating the ethnically balanced ticket, something new, he put together the most powerful political machine in Chicago history. It is the direct ancestor of the organization Daley inherited.

Many ethnic broadcasters complain that they are noticed by politicians only at election time. (A great many ordinary citizens say the same thing.) We have seen, nevertheless, that there is a relationship between politics and ethnic broadcasting in our big cities, and this point seems to be well worth investigation.

CLEVELAND

Cleveland shares with Chicago and Detroit an intense interest in ethnicity. The city is described in the Mobil Travel Guide: Great Lakes Area (1978, p. 156) as having "many nationalities that have contributed to its growth--Poles, Italians, Yugoslavs, Lithuanians, Germans, Irish, Romanians, Russians, Greeks." Indeed, the Greater Cleveland Nationalities Directory is far more comprehensive in its listing; it presents a listing of 64 national, racial, and ethnic groups (1974, passim).

Cleveland is the only city known to the present author in which one of the major daily newspapers employs a writer with the specific title of "Nationalities Writer"; there is an active Nationalities Service Center, the Peoples and Cultures Program, the Cleveland Ethnographic Museum, and the Urban Historical Museum. In Cleveland, as in Pittsburgh, ethnicity is an industry, with, in 1974, no less than 15 non-English language newspapers in the following tongues: Czech, German, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Rumanian, Slovak, and Slovenian (ibid., p. 26).

A listing of radio programs published in the Directory (pp. 21-25) indicates that no less than fifteen radio stations presented ethnic material in 1974. In number of programs and hours on the air, broadcasting for a black audience led by a huge margin: there were two full-time stations as well as numerous individual programs. Spanish radio ran a poor second, followed by Hungarian radio (14 separate broadcasts), German (13), Polish (13), and Italian (11). In 1974, there

were about 215 hours of ethnic programming weekly, for European and Arian ethnic groups alone (ibid., pp. 21-25). By 1978, the situation had changed markedly.

In 1974 there were two more or less full-time ethnic stations in operation in Cleveland. One of them, WZAK AM, is still in business as before, but the other, the former WXEN FM, has undergone a total transformation, and even a name change--to WZZP!

In 1974 WXEN broadcast no less than 85 hours each week of material designed for members of 21 ethnic groups, plus polka lovers. It aired 58 separate programs, some daily, many more weekly or twice weekly. In 1976 the station's license (which was held by the Booth Broadcasting Corporation of Detroit) was up for renewal. Once this was granted, management announced that, on 11 February 1977 it would change to what the industry calls a "contemporary" format. One can hardly imagine that the decision to change from an ethnic format to this one was arrived at after the license renewal; it is likely that Booth decided to keep quiet about the change until after the renewal was successfully accomplished, at which time its vulnerability, it thought, would be at an end. As an official of the F.C.C. said to me when I queried him about the case, it looked as though Booth "snuck a change through."

John Booth II, was quoted in the press concerning his reasons for making the change. He said that the station was 21st in the Cleveland ratings out of 23 stations (Dolgan 1977b, p. A-10); the next day, he was quoted as saying that WXEN had "such a small audience that our shows don't even show up in the ratings" (Dolgan 177c, p. 24-B).

The ethnic community, incensed, girded for a fight, garnering political support from the Mayor, the city utilities director, a county commissioner, and a congresswoman. The resulting pressure provided a reprieve: Booth promised to delay the change of format until mid-March. Mayor Perk made a suggestion that was enthusiastically endorsed by the ethnic broadcasters: hold a public protest meeting in Public Music Hall. This soon took place, as the Cleveland Press reported in an editorial on 10 February:

> Mayor Perk, Cong. Rose Oaker, County Commissioner George Voinovich and 2000 nationality music buffs assembled at Public Music Hall last Sunday to protest Radio Station WXEN-FM's decision to switch from ethnic programming to soft rock music on March 12.
>
> There was anger expressed about the firing of 21 ethnic disc jockeys and talk about boycotting WXEN sponsors, about forming a new ethnic radio station, and, of course, about the possiblity of WXEN-FM reconsidering.

> Perhaps the station's owners, based in Detroit, had not heard about Cleveland's fondness for nationality music, but they must have heard about the Sunday protest by now.
>
> There's an old story about the man who beat his mule over the head with a two-by-four plank to gain its attention.
>
> Well, Cleveland's nationality groups certainly have Booth American's attention. Now, the question is whether Radio Station WXEN-FM will go in the direction these listeners want it to go.
>
> The ratings may not coincide with the strong feelings of the station's ethnic audience, but it seems to us the owners are risking trouble in one form or another unless they listen to the listeners (Section C-6).

On the same day, in the same paper, Bill Barrett, the Radio-TV critic, suggested that the whole political aspect of the protest was less than nobly motivated:

> The politicians--the Perks and Voinoviches and Oakers and Vaniks--know or should know that there is no time left for rallies or petitions or news releases.
>
> What is needed at this point is some hard nosed advice from a lawyer who knows something about broadcast law. (Barrett 1977, p. E-6)

The editorial writer of the Cleveland Plain Dealer concurred: "But there is not much point in holding rallies, such as the one last Sunday, that seem designed to brow-beat WXEN-FM with political speeches. The issue is economic and cultural, not political, and political speeches on such a matter bear a repugnant hint of government intervention" (12 February 1977, p. A-20).

Thereafter, the matter gradually dropped out of sight. Booth had undoubtedly expected this gradual diminution of interest, and he probably counted, too, on his knowledge of the serpentine, tortuous pathways to and within the F.C.C.

In an article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer (23 May 1977), Raymond P. Hart reported that on that day a petition would be filed in the F.C.C., asking that body to reconsider its three-year license renewal to WXEN/WZZP. The Nationalities Broadcasters Association alleged "Licensing fraud, misrepresentation, and lack of candor." In support of its petition, the protesting group filed a petition with

about 13,000 signatures, as well as resolution from the city councils of Cleveland, Parma, and Garfield Heights. The total time that might elapse before the F.C.C. might make its decision was estimated at 6 to 7 months. Booth, in the meantime, maintained a stony silence.

In late September of 1978, this writer (assuming that since nearly 16 months had passed, the matter must be resolved) enquired at the F.C.C. The spokesman for the F.C.C. looked the matter up, and returned to report that after the date of the original petition there was but one more item in the file: on 9 June 1978 counsel for the Nationalities Broadcasters Association had filed a motion to expedite the matter. And that was all.

Prior to the change in format, WXEN had been an economic base for some 40 ethnic broadcasters, and each of these individuals had (as we have said before) a strongly positive economic effect on some of the hundreds of small ethnic businesses in the Cleveland area. Booth's clandestine decision must have created a good deal of economic hardship. And of course the change of format was a strong blow at cultural pluralism in the vicinity.

It can be argued that Booth had the right to deal with his property as he saw fit, and of course it is here that the most complex problems of regulation are concentrated. On the one hand, there is the issue of the disposition of private property; on the other, the idea that the airwaves are <u>public</u> property. Again, the F.C.C. is specifically enjoined from exercising censorship; at the same time, stations are required to serve the "public interest."

The empyrean notions, of course, always come down in the end to gritty cases like the one at WXEN/WZZP, where, as the man from the F.C.C. said, Booth "snuck one through." "Federal courts have held repeatedly that the 'no censorship' provisions of the Acts of 1927 and 1934 do not prohibit the consideration of past programming records of licensees, or even their future programming plans, when regulatory bodies created by the two Acts are passing on license applications (Summers and Summers 1966, p. 188).

There was a powerful, immediate feeling in Cleveland that Booth had not played fair, and that the public interest was ill-served by the decision to transmogrify WXEN.

We do not wish, by concentrating on this dolorous (if instructive) tale, to give the reader the impression that ethnic broadcasting in Cleveland is moribund: far from it. There is a scattering of ethnic programming on several stations, but the main outlet for such material has, since the metamorphosis of WXEN, been WZAK, a full-time ethnic AM outlet. Indeed, several of its producers are refugees from WXEN, among them the hosts of the Irish, Polish, and one of the polka programs. The latter two, by the way, are generally acknowledged in Cleveland to be figures of some importance in that city.

Tony Petkovsek, who is on the air from 2:00 until 4:00 p.m., Mondays through Fridays, is host of one of the five polka programs carried over WZAK; he is of Slovenian extraction, and broadcasts from Tony's Polka Village, his own record store. He is a centrally-important figure in the Slovenian community, who has in the years 1972-1978 raised some $120,000 for the Slovenian Home for the Aged. Petkovsek is "in the forefront of many promotions that benefit Slovene culture, writes in community newspapers, and emcees numerous events free of charge" (Dolgan 1977c, p. 21).

Tony Zebrowski, who was in 1978 on the air for a staggering total of 28 3/4 hours each week, claims to be the highest-paid disc jockey in Ohio. Like Petkovsek, he devotes considerable time to the affairs of his ethnic community, with special attention to community announcements. "These are my favorites. I do them for free, as long as they are for a non-profit cause. Not like that political garbage. They charge $100 a plate and they don't want to give you anything" (Dolgan 1977c, p. 19). Tony Zebrowski, who was born in Bayonne, New Jersey, has been active in ethnic broadcasting for a quarter-century, finding it at the beginning to be an overwhelming financial struggle. Like more than one ethnic broadcaster, he is a former musician, having played the accordion in a band known as the "Polish Sweethearts." His wife is a native of Poland, and they speak Polish at home, where he maintains his broadcast studio.

WZAK is owned by the Trans World Broadcasting Corp., with Joe Bauer as President. When I first visited the studios of WZAK, which is located in downtown Cleveland, I was impressed by the varied ethnic strains that flowed through the office and studios: it was a veritable United Nations. Mr. Bauer (who was clearly suspicious of "helpers" of the ethnic cause) catechized me as to what, in my opinion, the word "ethnic" meant. We then settled down to a discussion in which I learned that he is extremely active in ethnic and multicultural affairs in Cleveland. He and the station were actively involved in the production of the useful Greater Cleveland Nationalities Directory; he and his wife Betty produce much of the German programming on WZAK.

In 1978 WZAK (which identifies itself as "Rainbow Radio With Music of Two Worlds") maintained programs for 16 nationality groups: Arabic-Lebanese, Bohemian, British, Czech, Croatian, German, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Polish, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, and Spanish. There are, in addition, several public affairs programs, five polka broadcasts, and an "Oldies Rock 'n' Roll" show. On the ethnic lineup, probably the most unusual programs are the British and Bohemian ones.

Though there are several other stations in the Cleveland area that carry a certain amount of ethnic broadcasting, one rather

unusual effort is found on a public station, WBOE-FM, which, as the call letters indicate, is operated by the Cleveland Board of Education. On weekdays WBOE features normal National Public Radio fare, but on Saturdays (in April 1978) it presented a number of ethnic broadcasts, including German, Hungarian, Polish, polka, and Serbian. Thus, it kept company with the tiny minority of public stations in the United States that carry any multicultural broadcasts. (Some of the others are KQED, San Francisco; WOSU, Columbus; WUSF, Tampa, and a number of outlets in New York.)

Ethnic television as such seemed to be unknown when I visited Cleveland, although "Polka Varieties," which is widely syndicated, is produced there at the studios of the television channel owned by the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

As this report was going into print, a study came to hand which takes a look at ethnic radio, television, and press in Cleveland (Jeffres and Hur, 1979). We mention it, but, because of time, regret that we cannot provide more comment.

DETROIT

This city has long been known for its ethnic diversity; in recent years there has been considerable stress laid on ethnic consciousness as a cohesive force and even a tourist attraction. The city maintains a weekly ethnic festival during the summer months, with a different group featured each weekend. The industrialist Alex Manoogian has endowed an Ethnic Heritage Center on the campus of Wayne State University; nearby Hamtramck boasts a Polish Museum. The present investigator happens to have had a Scottish mother and a Greek father. During his trip into the center of town from the airport he was amused to notice, as his first sign of ethnicity, a signboard pointing to "Greektown." A moment later he glanced out of the window again, only to see a bus with the Scottish standard hanging from one side, the Saint Andrew's Cross from the other, and a busload of kilted young men singing and drinking various potables.

Detroit, like Cleveland, has produced ethnic directories, and one issued in May of 1973 names 12 stations carrying ethnic programming. In addition, three stations in Windsor, Ontario (a stone's throw across the Detroit River) carry numerous ethnic programs. As in Cleveland, however, most of the ethnic programs are carried over only two stations, WIID-AM and WMZK-FM. Obviously, therefore, the potential exists in Detroit for a crunch identical to the one that Cleveland experienced.

This writer discovered an extraordinary ethnic diversity in Detroit-area broadcasting. There are probably 125 different ethnic programs on the air in the Detroit-Windsor area, and several of these may well be unique. As instances we might cite the Maltese and Scottish programs. One finds such uncommon broadcasts as the Bulgarian and Rumanian. In addition, CHYR (Windsor) carries a Finnish-language program, one of a very few aired in that language.

Moreover, certain broadcasts exhibit unusual qualities. The Polish program called "Musica Polonica" (WMZK-FM) is devoted to the examination of Polish classical music. An Italian broadcast aired over the same station mixes operatic and popular material. Assumption Greek Orthodox Church sponsors a religious program for the Hellenic community. Called "The Voice of Orthodoxy," it includes liturgical music, a sermon by the priest, and a question-and-answer period, in which the clergyman answers queries about orthodoxy.

As far as ethnic television is concerned, there is one program on a VHF channel. This is broadcast on Sunday afternoon over Channel 9, CBET (Canadian Broadcasting Corp.), hosted by Frank De Angelis. It is an Italian-American talk and variety program. Channel 62, WGPR, shows three Sunday afternoon and evening broadcasts. These are Balkan, Macedonian, and Yugoslav, respectively. This author was unable to get more than the shadowiest of impressions of these broadcasts, because of the reception problems that so often attend the reception of UHF channels.

COLUMBUS

Though we think mainly of ethnic broadcasting in the large industrial cities of the Middle West, Columbus, the capital of Ohio, can also be included in the roster. Like much of the state, it absorbed a large number of German immigrants from the time of the Revolution of 1848 onwards, and today the city contains a tourist attraction in the area known as the "German Village."

Though we were unable to visit the city in the course of our research, we had the good fortune to benefit from the generosity of Professor Wolfgang Fleischauer, who recorded and documented the broadcasts referred to in the ensuing report.

We had access to a tape of a two-hour German program broadcast each Sunday from 9:00 until 11:00 a.m. over WRMZ, as well as a taped interview with a long-time sponsor of the program. "The German Hour" has a male English-speaking announcer, and a woman who carries the German portion of the program--which, by the way, predominates. Like German programs elsewhere, "The German Hour" contains songs that utilize non-German texts. A song broadcast on 21 May 1978, entitled "When the Sun Says Good Day to the Mountains," was sung at first in German, then in English, and finally in French. Another multilingual song presented on the same program was "Adio, Good-bye, Aufwiedersehen."

"Puerta Abierta" is a program with text spoken in both Spanish and English. It is produced by the Spanish Center of Columbus with the aid of WOSU (Ohio State University). "Puerto Abierta" is aired

on Saturday mornings between 11:00 and 11:30 a.m. The taped broadcast which I heard was devoted to an examination of the career of the Cuban patriotic leader, Jose Marti. It was comprised of discussion of his life and works, interlaced with appropriate music.

"Music of the Balkans" is broadcast over the Columbus Board of Education's station, WCBE. It is unusual in being devoted to different areas in the Balkans, with a different nation or locality featured each week. For instance, the program broadcast on 29 July 1978 concentrated on music of Macedonia, with excursions into the musics of Greece and Serbia. Since WCBE is a public station, there are no ads; instead, there are frequent public-service announcements. Announcements are made bilingually, in English and whatever the featured language of the week may be. The concept is an interesting one: however different the various cultures of the Balkans may be in detail, there are certain similarities, and these are clearly exposed on this program. Again, it is not often that one hears Macedonian or (on another occasion) Turkish music. To my knowledge, "Music of the Balkans" is one of only two broadcasts in the United States that feature regional, rather than national, traditions. (The other is Dr. Victor Molnar's "Music from Europe," aired over WDUQ, Pittsburgh.)

Another program broadcast over WCBE, "Old World Melodies," is actually a polka program; it is on the air every Saturday between 9:30 and 10:00 a.m.

CHAPTER XII

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

This area of the country contains both some of the most and least ethnically diversified areas of the United States. In the former category, we have Baltimore, Camden, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Washington. In the latter, we find cities in Virginia and North and South Carolina. Ethnic broadcasting reflects these conditions precisely: there are scattered examples of multicultural programming in the Upper South, but they are too few and--literally--far between for us to have been able to study them.

The cities of Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania possess a common base in the existence of heavy industry and numerous ethnic neighborhoods, with neat red-brick houses surrounding churches and temples of every denomination and ethnic affiliation. Political leadership in these cities reflects the presence of recent immigrant groups, and politics retains its roots in ethnicity.

Yet, despite their many similarities, each city remains unique. This writer at one time travelled frequently between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. He never ceased to be bewildered by the difference between the two. Accents, even dialects, differed; the word for a given item in one city was meaningless in the other; the economic base was unrelated; the topography dissimilar; the ethnic mix different. It is this diversity that makes it so fascinating to walk through, say, Newark's Ironbound section (Portuguese), Pittsburgh's South Side (Slavic and Lithuanian), or South Philadelphia (Italian).

Radio, of course, does not respect such natural-become-political borders as rivers. Thus, the Greek program produced and broadcast in Camden is avidly listened to across the Delaware in Philadelphia. Again, WHBI, though it is licensed to Newark, produces few programs in that city. Most are produced in its New York City studios. It will, therefore, be discussed in the section devoted to New York. Further, though it is difficult to think of any two nearby American cities as different as Washington and Baltimore, radio is indifferent to such matters, reaching both cities impartially.

Pittsburgh, isolated in its misty hills, is a different matter. Each of the dozen or so small cities that surround the big one maintains, somehow, a distinct aura of its own, while at the same time being very typical of a part of Western Pennsylvania. Though there is considerable ethnic variety in these towns, it is not uncommon for one particular group to predominate, and this is often reflected on the local radio station.

CAMDEN AND PHILADELPHIA

We studied and recorded programs on three stations in this area: WCAM, Camden; WIBF, Jenkintown; and WTEL, Philadelphia. Of the three stations, the one with the most comprehensive ethnic service is WIBF FM, which remains on the air at night, when the other two stations must cease broadcasting.

Jenkintown is a suburb of Philadelphia, located just over the city line, and easily reached by public transportation. The station itself is housed in a multistory apartment complex that also contains stores, restaurants, and offices. To reach WIBF, one takes an elevator down to a subbasement--an ideal location for a radio station, because the rent is low, and the area is well insulated from unwanted sounds. The station, according to one of its executives, Mr. Henson, was founded in 1960, and commenced its ethnic programming with a Greek broadcast in 1971. WIBF features ethnic and religious programs, using, in the latter case, both homegrown and syndicated productions.

The economic arrangements under which WIBF operates comprise both time-brokerage (under which a producer buys time and solicits his own advertising) and a less commonly used system under which the station does not charge for time, but instead pays a commission on advertisements. Henson seemed to be generally well-satisfied with this means of operation. He also said that he felt ethnic radio to be on the upswing, saying: "It's a good way to make a living, and a good way to serve minorities."

WIBF, in March 1978, presented programs for the following nationalities:

German	1 hour
Greek	3 hours
Hindu	1 hour
Irish	2 hours
Italian	2 hours
Jewish	13 1/2 hours
Korean	2 hours
Polish	2 hours
Portuguese	3 hours
Spanish	18 hours
Ukrainian	2 hours

Most of the diverse programming takes place on Saturdays and Sundays, but the Spanish and Jewish broadcasts are heard on weekdays as well. The Jewish program, now in its thirteenth year, is known as "The Barry Reisman Show." It presents a good deal of Yiddish material,

including the old chestnuts, "My Bonny Lies Over the Ocean," and "Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey"--in Yiddish. (Compare the account of another Yiddish-language program broadcast over WEVD, New York, in Glazer, 1955, passim.) Reisman, who, like most ethnic broadcasters, finds it necessary to be present at many community events, often goes one commendable step further, and schedules remotes from community affairs.

The Irish broadcasts over WIBF are designed to appeal to Scottish as well as Irish listeners, a pattern that we found repeated in other cities, notably San Francisco. This, indeed, is good business: the program carried ads for flights to Prestwick as well as Dublin. The host, Chris Granahan, told me on the telephone that "we have a lot of Scottish listeners, and they would like to hear songs like 'Scotland the Brave' as sung by Kenneth McKellar." Since Ms. Granahan, like her Pittsburgh colleague, Mike Folan, operates her broadcast partially on a request basis, her Scottish listeners are likely to have their wishes fulfilled.

Because the exigencies of scheduling made it possible to spend only three days in Philadelphia, and because so much of the area's ethnic broadcasting is scheduled on the weekends, there was little opportunity to study the offerings of WCAM and WTEL. WTEL presents programs in a number of languages, and we were able to record two religious programs and to hear samples of their Italian and Polish production. One of the religious items was the syndicated "Voice of Prophecy" in its Russian edition; the other was the locally-produced "Ukrainian Catholic Hour," from the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia. This program, which is almost altogether in Ukrainian, presents music and a message. It is also heard in certain other cities.

Due both to the vagaries of AM reception, and to the crowded Sunday ethnic radio schedules, we were able to listen to only one program on WCAM, Camden; this was entitled "Music with an Accent: Music from the Magic of Greece." It is on the air from 12:30 until 1:30 p.m., and, on the occasion on which I heard it, included the somewhat unusual feature of a live interview from a social event in the Hellenic community.

As far as other ethnic radio in New Jersey is concerned, there is a good deal of it scattered throughout the state. Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, and Ukrainians, each have one or more broadcasts. We have indicated that we intend to include WHBI (licensed to Newark) with New York, where its main studios are located.

PITTSBURGH

Though Pittsburgh, as the second city in Pennsylvania, is usually characterized as a "Northeastern" city, its geographical and economic situation make for a far more complex regional identification. In a cultural and economic sense, for example, it is far more like Cleveland than Philadelphia; and its position just a short distance north of the Mason-Dixon line and at the mouth of the Ohio river give it certain southern affiliations. The culture of Pittsburgh is made even more complicated by the rich infusion of Eastern European, Mediterranean, Asian, and Afro-American residents.

Pittsburgh is an important city both in the history of American radio and in the development of concepts of ethnicity. KDKA, the first commercial station in the United States, began broadcasting from East Pittsburgh in 1920. While there is no evidence that the station (which was then, and is now, owned by Westinghouse) took any prominent part in ethnic broadcasting, certain aspects of its early history are related to this concept. On 2 January 1921 the first religious broadcast in history took place over KDKA. "Calvary Church [Episcopal] flashed its music, sermon, and service for. . . . more than a thousand miles" (Agape, 28 May 1970). Thus was born a tradition that still remains a mainstay of Sunday broadcasting. This matter also required the telephone company to allow the connection of equipment other than its own to its lines and frame distribution system--a concession without which network broadcasting would have been impossible (Banning 1946, p. 48).

Though KDKA was not an ethnic broadcaster in the sense in which we use the word today, it did, nevertheless, provide a significant service to the large group of Anglo-Celtic Americans who resided within reach of its transmitter. In 1932, the Kentucky-born country-western singer, Bradley Kincaid, wrote:

> The successful rendition of any program on the air depends upon the cooperation between the radio station and the artist doing the program. I am glad to say that since coming to KDKA I have had the fullest cooperation from the station--from the station director to the telephone girl. The announcers have been most kind and helpful, and from the first day I have felt at home. Therefore, I am glad to tell you, my friends, that I am happy in my work here at KDKA, and I wish further to express through this medium my appreciation to the station for its spirit of helpfulness and good cheer. Many of you have written to me and said you were overjoyed that I had come to KDKA, your "favorite station." That is an indication to me that I am right in feeling that KDKA is a great station, for if it were not, you would not think so. Let's all, then, give three cheers for the pioneer station! (Kincaid 1932).

This panegyric to the listeners' taste was included in a little publication called "My Favorite Mountain Ballads and Old Time Songs," which Kincaid sold to his listeners. His financial success came, "not so much through personal appearances or record sales as through the phenomenal success of his series of songbooks" (Green 1976, p. 21). Kincaid's career had commenced on WLS in Chicago (home of the National Barn Dance). But Pittsburgh was an ideal location for such a program as Kincaid's. In those far-off days, a clear range of a thousand miles was normal for a powerful station. A circle drawn at a distance of even 600 miles from Pittsburgh included most of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas; Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio; Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia, as well as the many Western Pennsylvania towns (like Dunbar) that cherished the old British traditions. For that matter, one of the most powerful ethnic traditions in Pittsburgh itself was--and is--the Celtic. Crowder, one of the first professional musicians in Pittsburgh, was a native of Ireland; again, Foster's extensive use of the Irish and Scottish music that he heard in his hometown is well known (Grame 1976, pp. 208-209). And one of the most successful and powerful stations in Pittsburgh has long been the 24-hour country-western outlet, WPEP.

We are told (by Warshauer 1966, p. 82) that "most FLB [Foreign Language Broadcasting] occurs in the Middle Atlantic region." Pittsburgh is a major contributor to this statistic; along with Cleveland and Chicago, it is one of the very few cities in the United States in which ethnic broadcasting is an everyday topic of knowledgeable conversation. The city, of course, is extremely diverse ethnically; it is the national headquarters for several fraternal organizations; it possesses no less than six cathedrals; well-developed local educational and cultural institutions promote and benefit from ethnic diversity.

In 1976, for example, the Westinghouse Broadcasting Corporation produced a 65-part series on ethnicity on their Pittsburgh television channel, KDKA TV. And WQED produced the radio series, "One Land, Many Voices," in Pittsburgh. The Duquesne University Tamburitzans and the Pittsburgh Folk Festival are two other major ethnic enterprises. Ethnicity, in short, is a major Pittsburgh industry. A principal reason for this exploitation of diversity may lie in the early history of Pennsylvania, which from its beginnings had an unusual degree of ethnic multiformity (Grame 1975, pp. 109-110). The heavy waves of immigration to people the mines and the steel mills had their influence, of course, as did the extraordinary geographical configuration of Western Pennsylvania. It is so hilly, so divided by rivers and creeks, so bisected by the railroad tracks that follow their banks, that the old joke, "You can't get there from here!" seems at times to be true in Pittsburgh. And political subdivisions abound: there are numerous small municipalities, built, in most cases, around a steel mill. (Some of these are Braddock, Carnegie, Clairton,

McKeesport, and East Pittsburgh.) Many persons tend to remain in their neighborhoods--and hence ethnic enclaves.

It is well known that Pittsburgh is home to a very large aggregation of Slavs, who number at least 35% of the population. Prominent among them are Croatians, Poles, Russians, Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks, Slovenians, and Ukrainians, with smaller concentrations of Bulgarians and Macedonians. From the Mediterranean area come Greeks, Italians, Lebanese, and Syrians. Other groups heavily represented are Germans, Hungarians, Irish, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Scots. About 20% of the populace is black. Pittsburgh is unusual among American cities in having only a very small Spanish-speaking population.

The absolute size of an ethnic population, of course, is not tantamount to that group's influence or visibility in a given community. An agglomeration that would never be noticed, were size the only factor, is the Pittsburgh-area Hindu community, which consists largely of upper middle-class professionals, which has already spawned two Hindu temples, and which maintains a large-scale cultural program (including a weekly radio broadcast).

Unlike the several Sunbelt and western cities that we examine in this work, Pittsburgh has <u>lost</u> a significant portion of its population in the last two decades; indeed, it has retained no more than 70% of its 1950 population, losing 176,806 people. Clearly, this drop has affected every aspect of Pittsburgh life, including ethnic broadcasting. This is not, however, to say that there has necessarily been an exactly equivalent drop in the amount of ethnic radio, for this matter is affected by the following questions:

1. Has any particular age group tended to predominate in leaving the city?

2. Does ethnic pride and identity substitute for job identity and pride of occupation in a declining labor market, thus creating more demand for ethnic programming?

3. Does the recently burgeoning interest in ethnic identity among the college generation give rise to more programs?

4. How do we assess the post-World War II immigration of, say, East Indians, Hungarians, and Ukrainians?

Though the answers to the questions, valuable as they might be, must be beyond the scope of the present investigation, we can at least provide our impressions.

As in many older cities, younger people tend to move out and away, leaving older persons behind, and these persons thus remain a mainstay of ethnic broadcasting. Moreover, the Hindu community has had a radio program on the air for a number of years. Our third question requires a lengthier reply.

In 1977, there were four non-profit public stations in Pittsburgh. Two of these are controlled by local universities (one station is of marginal importance); one is a "good music" station; and the fourth is a late-blooming "alternative," or even "underground" outlet. The "good music" station, interested in maintaining and increasing its predominantly upper-middle-class listening audience, was unable to move in the direction of ethnic programming (though it did produce "One Land, Many Voices"). The more powerful of the two university stations, which was operated by Duquesne University, might have seemed ideally suited for ethnic non-profit programming, except that it was committed largely to public affairs material. The second university station was devoted entirely to album rock. There did, however, seem to be no reason why the "alternative" station (which desperately sought an identity and an audience) might not serve as the outlet for exponents of the new ethnicity. Since the management of the station seemed to concur, it was not long before about a dozen knowledgeable young enthusiasts for, among other cultures, Greek, Irish, Israeli, Lebanese/Syrian, Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian traditions were on the air, to the applause of many members of Pittsburgh's ethnic communities. But within a short time it became apparent that the contrast between the "alternative" lifestyle and culture and that of the young ethnic leadership represented a conflict that, like the Civil War, was irrepressible. As generally happens, management prevailed, and within a year or so all of the ethnic broadcasts had vanished. The conflict, essentially, seemed to be between the search for values as they existed in parental and ancestral tradition, and the search for "new" values within the so-called "youth generation."

We indicated earlier that the history of ethnic broadcasting is not easily traced in the newspapers, which by and large have ignored this aspect of the medium. The press in Pittsburgh provides no exception to this lacuna, so we are fortunate that John Chorney, in 1950, published a brief account of WHOD, McKeesport, in the Christian Science Monitor (Chorney 1950). It was founded in 1948, with about 75% of the stockholders being "ex-GI's, some having put their life savings into the station." At the time when Chorney's article appeared, WHOD broadcast in ten languages in addition to English. They were Arabic, Croatian, "Czechoslovakian," French, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, "Jewish," Lithuanian, and Polish. In

addition, WHOD broadcast a "lively jive" program, conducted by Mary Dee, who was "probably the only Negro girl disc jockey between Pittsburgh and Detroit."

It is evident that WHOD scheduled a good deal of music; Chorney quotes Ray Scott, the program director, as saying: "Music speaks the international language. If you can reach the people through music, you break down the barriers to some extent." There were features besides music, however, notably a Greek-language quiz show.

At least two persons who broadcast over WHOD in those far-off days are still on the air. Anthony Ortali, who was in charge of Italian programming, has most recently hosted a Sunday-afternoon Italian hour on WPIT, Pittsburgh. Alexander Avlon, who conducted the Greek quiz show, is now the producer of one of two Greek programs in the St. Petersburg-Clearwater area. Another former WHOD broadcaster who was until recently on the air in Pittsburgh is Julia Orosz, whose Hungarian program has been a staple for many years. She is evidently an extremely active person, both as broadcaster and musician: this writer owns two recordings on the "Orosz" label, each having, as a subheading, "WHOD--Homestead, Pa." Julia Orosz appears on all four sides as vocal soloist, and is also credited with being the arranger of one piece, a czárdás.

WHOD changed its call letters some years ago; it is now WEDO, still in McKeesport. On Sunday afternoons, it still produces several hours of ethnic programming, including many of the original ethnic groups in its schedule.

In a program of interviews with leading producers of ethnic radio in Pittsburgh, broadcast on 21 May 1976, Kathleen Monahan, who produced the broadcast, discussed ethnic radio with four knowledgeable individuals. One of these was Nick Trdina, who at the time conducted the "Slavic Moods" program over WEDO. (He has since given up the program, because of health problems.) His broadcast had made its debut as the "Croatian Radio Club of Pittsburgh" in 1947, under the direction of Michael Horvath. Trdina indicated that, since it began, the policy has been for the music to keep abreast of the changes in musical taste induced by persons newly-arrived from Yugoslavia and the maturity of a new generation of Yugoslav-Americans. "Slavic Moods," despite its all-encompassing title, is in the main a Croatian broadcast, with excursions into the other national musics of Yugoslavia. When asked whether he thought that ethnic radio was growing, Trdina said that he had at one time concluded the opposite--that death was imminent, but that more recently he had sensed a growth in interest and the size of audiences. He linked the burgeoning interest in Croatian and Yugoslav music to the enormous popularity, throughout the United States and Canada, of the Croatian-American Junior Tamburitzan ensembles sponsored by the Junior Cultural Federation

of the Croatian Fraternal Union. Expanding on his idea that it is essential to maintain continuity with the younger generation, Mr. Trdina said that, though many Croatian broadcasters devoted all of their air time to music that would suit the "old-timers," as he called them, he attempted to program music that would suit not only these individuals, but also younger Croatian-Americans, as well as persons newly arrived from Yugoslavia. He had recently brought in as co-producers and announcers two young musicians who were members of the popular Yugoslav-American rock group, "Trubaduri."

When his interviewer enquired as to whether "Slavic Moods" was profitable in the monetary sense, he laughed, and said that it was rather a labor of love, sustained both by faithful advertisers, and the contributions of listeners. This response, of course, is a common one: ethnic radio broadcasters in Pittsburgh and elsewhere utilize considerable ingenuity to raise the funds that maintain their programs. Indeed, another broadcaster on WEDO, Dr. Victor Molnar (a dentist), issues a monthly newsletter for which he charges an annual subscription rate. The producer of "The Arabic Hour" on WPIT relies on the funds produced by an annual Hafli at a Maronite church in Pittsburgh.

Another person interviewed on Monahan's program was Mike Folan, producer of the "Irish Hour," broadcast every Sunday afternoon over WPSL, Monroeville (a Pittsburgh suburb). After saying that he thought his offering was the third Irish broadcast to be heard in the Pittsburgh area, Folan was asked what he considered the role of the "Irish Hour" to be in his community. He replied as follows: "It varies with age. The elderly people love it because it brings a little bit of Ireland to Pittsburgh. For the younger people, it keeps alive their heritage. It teaches them the Gaelic songs; the Irish songs; it gets them aware of the Irish tunes; of the Irish artists and performers that they would never be aware of but for the Irish program. Then, it keeps a lot of people abreast of Irish happenings around the city of Pittsburgh."

Though Mike Folan is a Gaelic speaker who was born in the West of Ireland, he conducts the spoken portions of the "Irish Hour" altogether in English, though he does now and again play a record by Joe Heaney, or another Gaelic singer. Despite this, Folan might be described as a language activist: he teaches Irish both at the University of Pittsburgh and at the Pittsburgh Irish Center; he planned and executed the first Irish-language Mass held in Pittsburgh in recent years. Indeed, language seems to be a sore point on the "Irish Hour" (as it is on many ethnic programs). For instance, Folan once received a letter containing the following reference to his speech patterns: "Mike shouldn't be on the air because he doesn't know what he is doing and his command of the English language is poor. Why isn't he man enough to step down and let someone else take over?"

It is true that Mike Folan does not speak English according to the rules given in the NBC Announcer's Handbook; what he does speak is English as heard in the West of Ireland.

It is difficult to provide a census of ethnic programs in Pittsburgh, because so many stations in surrounding small towns list such broadcasts, and whether the Pittsburgh resident hears these or not depends on the vagaries of weather and other atmospheric conditions. The other major Pittsburgh outlet for ethnic radio is WPIT in the city itself. During the week it is a religious station, but on Sunday afternoons it presents a full range of ethnic broadcasts, including Arab, Greek, Italian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian.

At the commencement of this survey we indicated that live religious broadcasting was first attempted in Pittsburgh. That tradition is still maintained today. Perhaps the most interesting such broadcast, from the viewpoint of ethnic diversity, is the weekly-scheduled Byzantine Rite Liturgy broadcast in Old Church Slavonic by the Eastern Rite Catholic Diocese of Munhall. It is heard over WLOA, Braddock, and normally includes the celebration of the Eucharist by Bishop Bilok. The Diocese of Munhall is responsible for the spiritual well-being of a large proportion of the Ruthenian population of the United States.

Finally, a listing of easily-heard ethnic programs in the Pittsburgh area (as of late 1977) would include the following: Afro-American, Arab (2), Croatian (2), French, German, Greek, Hindu, Hungarian, Irish, Israeli, Italian, Lithuanian, Native American, Polish, Russian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian, and Polka.

BALTIMORE - WASHINGTON

Washington is a hugely diversified city, a place where all peoples and all costumes are common; a place where the ethnic restaurants, bars, and nightclubs are often jammed with those who demand Guinness, moussaka, or poori. It is not, however, an ethnic city, as Baltimore is. In the latter place, the quiet, almost self-contained, red-brick neighborhoods, each dominated by its church and social club, represent a life-style that frenetic Washington has forgotten. As far as radio is concerned, however, it, as usual, is impartial, caring not whether it is received by a resident of Baltimore, Washington, or for that matter Laurel, Bethesda, or Columbia.

In Washington itself, John Blake produces "The Caribbean Sound" on WHUR FM (the Howard University station). Blake has been on the air at WHUR since 1972, about two years after his arrival from

Trinidad. He is anxious to keep the large Caribbean population in the Washington area in touch with both cultural and economic realities in the Islands. He is aware that the West Indians are easily lost to view as a distinct cultural group, because they so easily blend physically into the black population. He encourages feedback and audience participation in the form of requests.

Von Martin, who began his career as Blake's assistant, now operates his own program, "Caribbeana," from another Washington station, listener-sponsored WPFW. He points out that, "At home we are very isolated from one another and then here we are invisible. That results in strong nationalism, so we are trying to get to know one another and introduce our culture to others" (Trescott 1978, p. D2).

In Laurel, Maryland, WLMD AM devotes much of its Sunday schedule to Croatian, Greek, Irish, Persian, and Polish music. According to the station's general manager, Bill Lemer, "These shows have incredible audiences. On Sundays the six lines into the station stay busy." A survey recently taken by the management shows that both the Irish and Polish programs reach 45,000 listeners. The time brokers who produce the various programs pay between $150 and $200 each week, and they hope to recoup the sum by selling ads to small businesses. The host of the polka program is a Corps of Engineers employee; the Croatian producer is an attorney at the Library of Congress. The Irish program is produced by the proprietor of an Irish shop in Alexandria. Penelope Apostolides, the producer of the Greek program, is very likely the same Penelope whose broadcast on television was described in an article in the New Republic (Cf. "Sedulus" 1971).

Another station in the area that carries ethnic broadcasting is WITH FM, in Baltimore. Elena Bradunas of the American Folklife Center kindly recorded samples of their Sunday German, Italian, and Lithuanian programs.

As another example of how prevalent ethnic programming is in the Baltimore area, we learn that there are no less than five Polish broadcasts heard each week, over the following stations: WBJC, WBMD, WJRO, WKTK, and WTOW. (This information is taken from an advertisement in American Ethnic, Spring, 1979, 7:4.)

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CHAPTER XIII

NORTHEASTERN STATES

Though it is quite generally understood throughout the nation that New York City is home to an extraordinarily wide variety of ethnic groups, there is less understanding that this is equally true of the New England states. The powerful mythology and imagery conjured up in our minds by thoughts of the Pilgrims, Myles Standish, Jonathan Edwards, and the Bay Psalm Book should not blind us to the ethnic realities of contemporary New England. Consider, to begin with, the names of some of the recent political leaders to emerge from New England: Governor Grasso and Congressman Giaimo (Connecticut); Speaker O'Neill, Senator Tsongas, and former Governor Dukakis (Massachusetts); Senator Pastore (Rhode Island); Senator Muskie (Maine). And this is merely a sampling.

The state of ethnic radio in the region is as good an indicator as any. We are aware of programs aimed at the following 19 ethnic groups: Albanian, Armenian (3), Chinese, Czech, Finnish, French (34), German (5), Greek (15), Hungarian (2), East Indian, Irish (4), Italian (23), Lithuanian (2), Native American, Polish (41), Portuguese (25), Scandinavian, Ukrainian (2), and West Indian (2).

This total of 162 weekly programs surely omits many programs that are unknown to me. Lest the reader jump to the conclusion that only such large communities as Boston, Hartford, and Providence are represented, we must report that the list comprises stations located in 73 communities in all six New England states. The broadcasts listed above must comprise no less than 385 hours each week in New England. If we add to this the total of about 400 hours in New York City, and another 200 hours or so from the rest of New York State, we arrive at a total of about 1,000 hours weekly in the seven-state area. And this is exclusive of full-time Spanish or black operations. (Our figures were derived in part from Broadcast Yearbook, from Radio Guide New York, and from our own investigations.)

There has been a good deal of activity in ethnic radio in the New England area for decades. Steffanides, who started his "Hellenic Dawn" broadcast over WORL in 1936, speaks of "all the competition that I encountered from . . . Greek radio commentators" (1974, p. 116). He talks of the wide influence of "Hellenic Dawn":

> HELLENIC DAWN became the most popular Greek radio program in New England within a very short time. Indeed, as I came to learn in a short while, HELLENIC DAWN was the second most listened-to radio program in

> the entire New England area, with Radio Station WHDH coming first. For not only the Greeks, but even Jews, Albanians and Armenians listened to our program every Sunday because they liked the Greek and Oriental music which we featured. Then too, Radio Station WORL had such a clear and powerful radio signal that it could be heard clearly in all the six New England states--from Cape Cod to Albany, New York, and from Portland, Maine to Norwich, Connecticut. (Steffanides 1974, p. 116).

BOSTON

Boston, to this day, is the hub of ethnic broadcasting in New England, with a number of stations in and around the city presenting a wide variety of ethnic programs. Among the leading stations are WUNR, WWEL, WNTN, and WLYN.

WWEL, Medford, claims the oldest secular Portuguese broadcast in Massachusetts. In addition, it presents the Portuguese version of the Seventh Day Adventist "Voice of Prophecy." Among its other programs, we were able to record the East Indian, Jewish, Lithuanian, and Polish Sunday broadcasts. The Jewish program, in a pattern that we have noticed elsewhere (Glazer 1955), plays songs in Yiddish that began their existence as American popular songs in English. On this particular broadcast, the host presented a Yiddish version of "Raindrops Keep Falling on My Head." The Polish program included both secular and sacred music--a combination that is somewhat unusual.

Through the introduction of a mutual friend we were able to speak with Mr. Orestes Demetriades, who has been an active Greek broadcaster for a quarter-century. For many years, he has presented a Greek program on WLYN, Lynn. In addition, he is the President of WNTN, Newton, where he also presents programs. Moreover, Demetriades is the owner of a travel agency with branches in Boston and Lowell. In this wide range of activities, he is reminiscent of his predecessor in Hellenic-American broadcasting, George Steffanides.

Asked whether he thought ethnic radio to be waxing, Mr. Demetriades said that he thought it to be a growing phenomenon. He believes that it is essentially a local activity that would be ill-served by syndication. One of the main impediments to the growth of ethnic radio, he thinks, is what he believes to be the lack of professionalism in the ranks of ethnic broadcasters. "So many people," he says, "don't know what they're talking about."

He believes that ethnic radio is of great importance for ethnic communities, saying, "Being Greek, I would like to help the Greeks." His Sunday morning Hellenic broadcast is on the air for four

hours (8:00 to 12:00 noon). It is directly preceded by "News from Greece," read by Demetriades and sponsored by Olympic Airlines. The first 15-minute segment consists of an evangelical program in Greek, followed by a variety of Greek music and ads. The latter are in some ways unusual: the producer includes classified advertisements of businesses and real estate for sale and job opportunities.

CONNECTICUT

Portions of this state are within the range of stations in New York; the more easterly reaches of Connecticut are covered by stations in the Boston area, Worcester, Providence, Fall River, and other cities. Nevertheless, there are many ethnic radio programs that originate within the state itself. In 1978, there were ethnic programs emanating from at least 18 cities, ranging from Willimantic in the northeast, to Greenwich, near New York. Oddly enough, there do not seem to be any broadcasts originating in the culturally diverse cities of Bridgeport and New Haven.

The industrial cities of Connecticut are home to an extremely diverse ethnic population living in and around Bridgeport, Groton, Hartford, Meriden, New Britain, New Haven, Waterbury, and Willimantic. Further, there is very great diversity in the largely suburban counties adjacent to New York City. This aspect of Connecticut life has been masked to an extent by notions engendered by our ideas about life in such Ivy League institutions as Yale and Wesleyan (both of which are situated in heavily Italian communities).

In Connecticut itself, we know of radio programs designed for members of the following ethnic groups: Czech, French, German, Greek, Jewish, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Ukrainian. WLBH FM, Hartford, is a major broadcaster to the very large Puerto Rican group residing in that city, and in most other parts of the state.

Other major ethnic broadcasters in Connecticut (during 1978) were WILI, Willimantic (French, Polish, Spanish, Ukrainian); WNLK, Norwalk (German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Spanish); and WRYM, New Britain, which is almost at the geographical center of the state. It presents daily programs in Italian (15 hours weekly), Polish (12 hours weekly), and Spanish (25 hours weekly). In addition, there are three Greek programs, one Lithuanian, and one Ukrainian.

RHODE ISLAND

The exigencies of a frantic schedule made it impossible for me to conduct any first-hand research in Rhode Island, or the closely

adjacent Massachusetts communities of Fall River and New Bedford. Many earlier trips to these places, however, had convinced me of the vitality of ethnic life in the area, where the largest ethnic groups are French-Canadian, Italian, and Portuguese. In Rhode Island itself, there are programs for Armenians, French, Greeks, Italians, Polish, and Portuguese, and the latter group perhaps exudes a particular cultural vitality.

Antonio Alberto Costa, publisher of the Portuguese Times (Newark, New Jersey), has also been associated with a number of radio stations in the Providence-New Bedford area as program producer and announcer; among these outlets have been WALW, WGGY, WKFD, and WBSM. "In 1968-1970 he was the commentator-producer of the first telephone talk show in Portuguese in the United States. Since February, 1970, he has been the producer-host of 'Passport to Portugal' on WTEV, channel 6, New Bedford-Providence (Rhode Island), with reruns in 1971-1973 over KMPH-TV of Visalia, California" (Cardozo 1976, p. 68). Again in 1970, "radio station WGCY of New Bedford, Massachusetts, became a full-time Portuguese-language broadcaster" (ibid., p. 85). WGCY is one of the three stations in Massachusetts to carry the Portuguese "Voice of Prophecy."

NEW YORK

The statistics for ethnic radio in New York are, as one might expect, impressive. In mid-1978 there were about sixteen stations in the New York area that presented ethnic programming; three of these (WEVD AM, WEVD FM, and WHBI FM) specialized in ethnic programming. There are about one hundred fifty separate programs catering to about 40 ethnic groups. The number of hours on the air (omitting the block programming of full-time Spanish and black stations) must total 20,000 per year. New York also boasts a good deal of ethnic television broadcasting, catering to diverse ethnic groups.

What are the characteristics of the stations that air ethnic music? The New York area, after all possesses about 80 radio stations, about 20% of which carry ethnic broadcasts. To begin with the negatives: not one of the flagship stations of the networks carries any ethnic broadcasting, and since these three outlets (WABC, WCBS, and WNBC) are each 50,000 watt stations, it is clear that the ethnic broadcasts on less powerful stations can not be received at the same distances as the network programs. Indeed, of the sixteen stations that do carry ethnic programming, only two (WFUV FM and WHBI FM) have a power of more than 5000 watts.

As is the case with any large city, New York has a handful of stations whose self-proclaimed mission is to serve the "intelligentsia." The two opposite poles of this endeavor, in New York, are

WBAI FM (Pacific Foundation) and WQXR AM and FM (New York Times). The former serves the "hipper" group in the subculture, while the appeal of WQXR is to staider, more conservative elements in the community. Neither station broadcasts any ethnic programs whatever, reminding us of the views of Toynbee and Joshua Fishman quoted elsewhere in this work.

New York is unusual in the number and variety of college stations in the city and its immediate surroundings (comprising almost a dozen). In a pattern that is extremely unusual in American non-profit broadcasting, six of these college outlets provide ethnic programming:

WFMU	(Upsala College) :	Jewish
WFUV	(Fordham Univ.) :	Arab, E. Indian, French, German, Haitian, Irish, Italian, Latin, Polka, Scandinavian
WHPC	(Nassau Community):	American Indian, Polka
WHCR	(Columbia College):	African, Chinese, Haitian, E. Indian, Latin
WSOU	(Seton Hall Univ.):	Arab, Greek, and "Varied ethnic"
WVHC	(Hofstra Univ.) :	French, Italian, Jewish, Polka, Spanish, and "Music Continental."

Apparently the only other non-profit broadcasting in New York that produces ethnic programming is the city's own venerable station, WNYC, which lists Irish and East Indian programs, as well as a host of press reports from all over the world.

At one time, there were a number of more or less full-time ethnic stations in New York; in certain cases they specialized in one language or culture; in others they catered to a large number of groups. Sometimes they were linked to a non-English-language newspaper, such as Il Progresso, or the Jewish Daily Forward. In other instances these stations were the voice of a particular segment of the city (the Bronx, say, with WBNX). Many of these are gone, or transformed beyond recognition. (WBNX is now located in Carlstadt, New Jersey.)

Other stations have simply vanished. WHOM, which a writer for the New York Times described in 1951 as transmitting "more hours of foreign-language programs than any other station in the country" (Buder 1951), is gone. In that year, the station had just added an FM outlet to its long-operating AM operation; management, according to Fortune Pope, the station's president (and a member of the politically powerful family that controlled Il Progresso), wished to "render an important public service by making time available to small national groups" (ibid.). They had commenced with Ukrainian, Russian, Swiss-German, and had added Chinese. An interesting sidelight on the

promotion of this latter program is that, when the program was almost ready to go on the air, Lyle Stuart (most recently a publisher, but in those far-off days apparently the producer of this Chinese-language broadcast) noticed that FM radios were as scarce in Chinatown as hen's teeth. "So the day before the debut, they distributed FM sets to key coffee-shops in Chinatown. . . . On the evening of the broadcast, crowds poured from one shop to another, pointed at the prominently-placed radios, and enquired hopefully, 'FM-ah'" (ibid.).

By 1978, WWRL was a member of the Mutual Black Network, but for many years prior to the mid-1960s it was a multi-ethnic outlet. At least one program was on the air over WWRL for more than thirty years--the "Czechoslovak Radio Hour."

> The first Radio Broadcast took place on September 19, 1933 in Kocik Restaurant in New York at 70th Street, between First and Second Avenue. From there the Program was broadcast directly to the studio of the WWRL Radio Station and into the air, lasting only 15 minutes. The first organizer was Karol Mikus, a Slovak. The first announcer was Joseph Kobylka, who was later replaced by Karol Mikus. The first and only sponsor was Joseph Triner, a distributor of wines and liquors from Chicago, Illinois.
>
> In the spring of the year 1965 the WWRL office decided not to broadcast radio programs in any foreign language. They started producing programs for the colored folk. Being ousted from having a radio broadcast was a sad moment for our community and our listeners found out there was something missing in their lives. For the first time after thirty years they were without a radio program. They wrote and called the last announcer and asked him to contact other radio stations. (Petlicka 1969, unpaged)

The ethnic station with the greatest longevity is WEVD, which is one of two surviving full-time ethnic broadcasting operations in New York. WEVD has served New Yorkers since 1927, when it was founded by the Social Democratic Party and named after Eugene V. Debs (hence WEVD).

> After four years of operation this group [the Social Democrats] found itself in a shaky financial condition and came to the Jewish Daily Forward with the suggestion that the Forward buy it out. A survey conducted by the Forward showed that it would have to put between $150,000 and $175,000 into the station to operate it properly. Undismayed, the Forward seized this oppportunity to possess yet another instrument in the service of the labor movement. A committee of twenty-five was appointed to operate

> the station, and for the first three years the Forward supplied the funds to cover the deficit. (Glazer 1955, p. 169)

WEVD ("The Station That Speaks Your Language") was one of a number of small stations that ran afoul of the Federal Radio Commission in the late twenties and early thirties. At one time the station issued a ringing manifesto in its own defense, speaking of the necessity of "maintaining at least one channel of the air free and open to the uses of the workers" (Barnouw 2: 216).

We are fortunate to have a comprehensive account of the programming and style of WEVD during the mid-1950s. In those halcyon days, radio had not yet learned to depend entirely on recorded music, and WEVD, like many other ethnic stations, made room for a varied line-up of living performers. Glazer talks about Seymour Rechzeit, "WEVD's chief vocal star," who

> appears on at least two programs daily, once as "The Melody Box" and once as "The Jewish Folk Singer." Rechzeit has the kind of light, slightly nasal tenor voice that ladies of a certain age find irresistible. It quivers, it trembles, it vibrates. In point of fact, bleats. While his taste is hardly irreproachable--he has been known to attempt patriotic anthems a la George Jessel, and he grows very maudlin at times--his position as a kind of Yiddish Liberace has been unchallenged for the past fifteen years. Rechzeit's great specialty, although not unique with him, is his trick of singing American popular songs in Yiddish, using recordings by famous orchestras as accompaniment. By now he has built up a considerable repertory in this art form. (Glazer 1955, pp. 162-163)

We have indicated that a number of stations that once broadcast ethnic material almost exclusively have vanished or been transformed beyond recognition. One writer sees back of this change a deliberate "policy of banning foreign language programs from American broadcasting." This, says Konecky (writing about 1950),

> marks one of the most dangerous developments of bigotry in radio history. This danger is increased by the fact that behind the suppression of national group radio lurks the House (Thomas Feeney) Un-American Activities Committee.
>
> In the Fall of 1946, there were rumors that legislation was being framed in Washington, D.C. for the purpose of abolishing foreign language broadcasts and

> foreign language newspapers. . . . No subsequent action followed at that time but when the 79th Congress assembled in January, 1947, the Wood-Rankin Committee (formerly the Dies Committee) issued a report in which it made various recommendations to Congress. Among these recommendations was the proposal that all newspapers in the United States printing matter in a foreign language must print translations of that matter in English in parallel columns. Failure to comply would result in loss of second class mailing privileges. (Konecky n.d., p. 40)

Needless to say, this proposal did not pass, and a powerful group of publishers added its voice to the chorus of protesters from the ethnic communities. Konecky does not suggest any direct connection between this proposed legislation and the disappearance of certain ethnic stations; rather, he seems to feel that it was a covert action on the part of certain broadcasters. The present author, who lived in New York during the period, remembers, however, that there was an odd connection between notions of "subversives" and "foreigners." This, in its turn, could be traced back to the period following World War I. To what extent the changeover in radio formats was related to this phenomenon and to what extent it merely reflected what seemed to management to be a rational economic policy alone is too complex a matter to probe further in this work. No doubt there was a little of each.

One of the most prominent fixtures in present-day ethnic broadcasting in New York is WHBI FM, licensed to Newark, but maintaining studios at 80 Riverside Drive in New York. WHBI provided programs for no less than 35 ethnic and linguistic groups (1978); and it claims that it "provides public service to more nationalities or ethnic minorities than any other similar station on earth." One can hardly dispute this claim. The ethnic program schedule as it appeared in the spring of 1978 included broadcasts for the following groups: Albanian, Arab, Argentine, Armenian, Brazilian, Bulgarian, Caribbean, Croatian, Ecuadorian, French, Greek, Haitian, Hebrew, Hungarian, Indian, Iranian, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Norwegian, Pakistani, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Ukrainian, Yugoslav. Additional hours of broadcasting, the management notes, "are used, in the majority, for Black programs and public affairs."

WHBI went on the air in 1962, and its first ethnic program (in 1967) was in Italian. Most of the producers are in ethnic radio only on a part-time basis, and many of them are professionals or executives. The main exceptions are the producers of the Italian

broadcast (which is on the air from Monday through Friday from 10:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m.), and the Greek program aired from 3:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m. These two have made careers in ethnic broadcasting.

In an unusual arrangement, a sizable group of programs is produced live for WHBI by Balkan Echo Studios, located a mile or so away. Balkan Echo has been in existence almost as long as WHBI; its owner had produced a Bulgarian program on another station, but had experienced financial difficulties because of the high rates he was forced to pay for radio time. Since the costs of broadcasting at the fledgling WHBI were lower, he joined that station and gradually began handling programs other than his own. Balkan Echo, located on the ground floor of one of the vast apartment houses that comprise so much of Manhattan's Upper West Side, is a comfortable place that its proprietor, Emil Antonoff, told me the broadcasters like because they find it "like home."

WHBI has recently been the focal point of a series of governmental and legal actions that have been closely watched in broadcasting circles, and the matter, which began in the F.C.C., continued in the United States Court of Appeals, and was finally remanded to the F.C.C., goes to the heart of the situation in ethnic broadcasting. Without going into great detail over the rules and regulations that apply, we might say that the relevant portion is the requirement that the licensee must retain familiarity with, and responsibility for, all of its programming. This means, for example, that, no matter in what language material is being broadcast, it is the licensee's obligation to know what is going out over the air. Because the F.C.C. felt that this and other requirements were not met by WHBI, it refused to renew the station's license. The station, under its corporate name of Cosmopolitan Broadcasting Corporation, appealed, and was joined by a group of co-appellants including the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey, as well as the Croatian National Congress, the Bulgarian American League, the Japanese American Association of New York, the Federation of Lithuanian Women's Clubs, the Congress of Portuguese People, the Yugoslav Consolidated Benevolent Association, the Iran Club, the Columbian Lawyers Association and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation. "At the heart of this case is the 'longstanding bulwark of Commission policy' that licensees have an affirmative, non-delegable duty to choose independently all programs for broadcast, in light of the tastes and ascertained needs and problems of the community.'" (Network Broadcasting by Standard (AM) and FM Broadcast Stations, 63 FCC 2d 674, 690 (1977), quoted in 581 Federal Reporter, 2d Series (1978), p. 918). Stringent application of this principle meant that since WHBI depended very heavily upon the services of time-brokers, it could not, in the opinion of the F.C.C., meet this requirement.

The appellants, for their parts, contended that it did, in fact, maintain control over its broadcasts "by selecting time brokers and by specifying basic program formats and languages" (581 Federal Reporter 2d Series (1978), p. 922). While the Court of Appeals did not find this argument to be especially impressive, it did remand the cast to the Commission, mainly because of another contention by the appellants: that the programs presented by the station were especially meritorious in their public service, and that this special programming ought to be taken heavily into consideration in deciding whether or not to grant a renewal of WHBI's license.

Whether coincidentally or not, the F.C.C., five months after the Court of Appeals' decision, adopted a "Notice of Inquiry" concerning the possibility of "encouraging the part-time programming of existing broadcasting stations by minority groups" (Federal Register 43, no. 230, 29 November 1978, p. 55804). Familiarity with the material mentioned above is essential for the student of ethnic broadcasting.

Radio stations are businesslike places, usually furnished in modernistic styles, with overtones of brisk importance. In other words, they are not usually "like home." But the motif of homely informality is carried out at another major New York ethnic station, WPOW, a 5000-watt outlet that shares a frequency with WEVD AM, and that, consequently, is on the air only part-time. During the morning, WPOW broadcasts "Inspirational Programming" seven days a week. Evenings from 5 until 9, the station is devoted to ethnic broadcasting, featuring Italian culture from 5 until 6 Monday through Friday; Polish material from 6 until 7; and, from 7 to 8, Yugoslav (Monday), Czechoslovak (Tuesday and Wednesday), Greek (Thursday), Ukrainian Catholic (Friday), Korean Full Gospel (Saturday), and, from 8 until 9 p.m. on Saturday, a Haitian program.

We spoke earlier of the history of the Czechoslovak Radio Program, which we left at the point at which it had been removed from WWRL. The Souvenir Booklet of the program's 35th anniversary banquet discusses relations between the program and WPOW:

> [WPOW was] happy to welcome our group on the air. The policies of this station make it much more difficult to upkeep our Program. The WPOW Radio Station does not take care of providing for sponsors, has no provisions for administration, bookkeeping, and all other related procedures. The policy of our Radio Station is business-like. We have to sign contracts for certain periods of time and pay ahead each month. The Station does not care how many sponsors we have nor does it ask if we have enough financial support. In case we are not able to upkeep our Program they already have a list of different nationalities who are waiting for available time (Petlicka, 1969).

Despite the "business-like" nature of WPOW, the evening visitor, at least, finds the atmosphere to be very different from, and much more human than, the ambience that seems usually to pervade the media industry. The station itself is housed in a newish apartment building on Manhattan's East Side; from outside its door, one would have no idea that beyond it there was anything other than a middle-class couple. The rooms within are furnished with steel desks, which, when I visited, were occupied by representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish programs. When we entered the cramped room in which the broadcasts take place--I had been asked to greet the audience of the program--there was a procession of persons: the host, a Slovak announcer, an engineer, a couple visiting from Czechoslovakia, and I. The atmosphere was somehow warm, relaxed, and, well, "ethnic," with none of the tension that so often intrudes in broadcasting stations. The program itself includes ads and public service announcements in Czech and Slovak, music, occasional interviews, and, on Tuesday nights, "The Slovak Lutheran Hour" emanating from Saint Louis.

The host, Jan Petlicka, is active in the Czechoslovak community, and takes responsibility for advertising solicitation and production. Though he had been involved in ethnic radio before 1965, in that year he took over the program. He was born in Prague, served in the Czechoslovak army in 1936-1939, spent the World War II years in a Nazi concentration camp, and came to the United Staes after the war. His other business interests include a travel organization that specializes in trips of interest to members of his ethnic communities (though he welcomes others as well). Examples of his tours include visits to the Czechoslovak groups in Nebraska and Florida, visits to the Moravian Festival in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and tours to Czechoslovakia.

Ethnic television flourishes in New York, probably far more than in any other American city. At least three channels specialize in non-English programs. Channel 47 (WNJU), Newark, New Jersey, is described in the TV listings appearing in the New York Times as offering "mostly serial and variety programs in Spanish and Italian." Channel 68 (WTVG), also Newark, offers "Financial news, foreign language sports, variety and relgious programs." (The Times, however, does not offer a complete listing for either station, confining itself to the hours following 6:00 p.m.) Channel 47, in addition to offering "Spanish and Italian" programs, presents "films," and "Spanish serials" commencing at 4:30 p.m. weekdays, and 5:00 p.m. Sundays.

It is Channel 68, however, that shows the broadest spectrum of ethnic groups. There are two programs presented daily, Monday to Friday: these are the "Chinese Variety Show," televised from 6:00 until 6:30 p.m., and the "Maria Papadatos Show" (Greek), from 7:00 until 7:30. Other ethnic groups represented on the channel include Armenian, Bulgarian, German, Hungarian, Jewish, Ukrainian, and Yugoslav.

It is not surprising that New York, as the largest city in the nation, and as the traditional gateway from abroad, should possess the most impressive statistics regarding ethnic broadcasting. At least 36 ethnic groups are currently represented on ethnic radio in New York; and ethnic television displays the cultures of a dozen or so. In our nation-wide search for ethnic programming, we encountered only seven ethnic groups represented elsewhere that did not also present broadcasts in New York:

Assyrian	(San Francisco)
Basque	(Elko, Nevada)
Estonian	(San Francisco)
Finnish	(Windsor, Ontario)
Maltese	(Detroit)
Navajo	(Flagstaff)
Ute	(Ignacio, Colorado)

The programs that we suspect to be unique to New York--one cannot be positive--are: Albanian, Brazilian, Ecuadorian, Haitian, and Turkish.

New York, then, points up our dilemma when we planned this investigation. Without doubt, ethnic broadcasting in that city alone could--and should--be the focal point of an inquiry at least as extensive as the present one. We can only hope that our investigations will inspire others to delve deeply, for there is much treasure to be gained!

CHAPTER XIV

SOUTHEASTERN STATES

The six states included under this heading in the Mobil Travel Guide are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Ethnic programming is of extreme infrequence in all of these states except Florida. Indeed, Broadcasting Yearbook lists less than a dozen programs for five of these six states. In large measure, this reflects the ethnic makeup of these states, where persons of British and African extraction have predominated. Though many, perhaps most, southern towns and cities have long had small mercantile populations of Greek, Jewish, Lebanese, or Syrian background, in few instances has the population been large enough to allow for ethnic radio broadcasting. The ethnic music of most of these states is country-western, which maintains large portions of the traditions of the British Isles in tune and text, and the Afro-American, redolent in so many respects of Africa. In the present work, we can do no more than note the presence of these musics, not only in the South, but their mass appeal in other sections of the nation as well.

Florida, because of its peculiar history and unique demographic situation, presents a much more varied picture, and metropolitan areas such as Orlando-Winter Park, Miami, and Tampa present a variety of material.

MIAMI

It is my invariable habit, when travelling in a strange city or country, to utilize only two forms of transportation: foot and public. (One learns nothing from gripping the steering-wheel of a car while insulated by glass from the life surrounding him.) On an occasion that will remain forever etched in memory, my companion and I were seated (thankfully) in the back of a Miami bus, while what seemed like the entire population of the city hung, swaying and wilted in the July heat, from straps and bars, impatient to get home from work.

We talked casually, pointing out this and that on the route, but in a moment I became aware that someone else had joined the conversation. Looking around, I discerned a tiny, pinched, grey woman with a shopping bag, who was seated behind. "Well," she said to me in the accent of eastern Europe, "it certainly is good to hear someone around here speaking English!" It was not, to me, good at all, but it did point up a significant fact about Miami today: English is distinctly secondary to Spanish as a vehicle for commerce or conversation. In what other city would a tired traveller, checking in at a hotel, pick up a tourist booklet entitled Bienvenidos a Miami? In what other

city does the major daily paper (here the Miami Herald), publish a Spanish edition?

"Calle Ocho" is the heart of Miami's Cuban district; along its length are hundreds of stores, restaurants, and service establishments catering mainly to Latins, but now attracting a number of tourists and local non-Latins as well. A decade and more ago, the street and the surrounding neighborhood were crumbling, but, since the Cuban influx, a constant upgrading has continued, with new office buildings, new stores, beautification projects, and parks. A prominent building on Calle Ocho is that of Spanish-language station WRHC. Like other Latin outlets in the area, it presents a kind of middle-of-the road programming, with news, community public affairs, and music. News and opinion about Cuba represents a good deal of the spoken content of the station.

Another station that we studied was WCMQ, Hialeah, the content of which is similar to that of WRHC. As we have pointed out elsewhere in the present work, the Latin population is important enough to large corporate advertisers to rate a large amount of advertising on Spanish-language media. By way of example, we might point out that we heard, in one hour on WCMQ, ads for the following nationally-advertised products: Champale, Coca-Cola, Colonel Sanders, Cookin' Good, Heineken, Juicy Fruit Gum, and Sears Roebuck. All the ads except the one for Heineken were in Spanish, and had been recorded and produced elsewhere.

As far as Spanish television is concerned, one station (Channel 23) devotes itself entirely to Spanish material, and other stations present Spanish programming. (We base this judgement on the television listings in El Miami Herald for 14 July 1978.)

There is also a program entitled "Que Pasa, U.S.A.," which is filmed weekly in Miami, and is based on the lives of a fictional Miami Cuban family. This comedy is bilingual, and attempts to portray the lives and conflicts of a three-generation family, with especial attention to the lives of teenagers. (There is much concern, and considerable discussion in the Miami Cuban community, about the effects of the United States on young people.)

Perhaps the Miami situation was best summed up by a Dade County school board member, Holmes Braddock, who was quoted in the Tampa Tribune (31 March 1978, p. 10-A) as saying that English-speaking children in the area be required to take Spanish as a "survival skill": "I think it's way beyond taking it for the joy of it. Kids graduating from high school need Spanish here to get a job, to work in a dimestore, a grocery store or in a bank."

TAMPA BAY

The Tampa Bay area, with a population of over a million persons, contains the large municipalities of Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Clearwater, as well as a number of smaller cities and unincorporated areas. It has experienced enormous growth in recent years, not only among the older segment of the populace (for which Florida is so well known), but among all demographic groups.

As far as cultural backgrounds are concerned, the city of Tampa has long been known as a center of Italian and Spanish culture (which has been so well delineated in several books by Jose Yglesias). The smaller city of Dunedin, as its name suggests, is resolutely Scottish, with a pipe-band, a pipe-maker, Highland Games, a large Scottish-American population, and even a housing development known as--but not looking like--"Piper's Glen."

These words are being written in Tarpon Springs, and, on this Wednesday in Orthodox Holy Week, the bleating of Paschal lambs can be heard from several houses just a few doors away. The population here, of course, is heavily Greek (mainly from the Dodecanese Islands), and a strong Hellenic heritage survives and proliferates.

Another few miles to the north, just outside of the Tampa Bay area itself, are the Czech and Slovak enclaves of Masaryktown and Slovenska Zahrada, important economically as a center of poultry farming.

Other sections in the Tampa Bay area, notably Saint Petersburg, seem to have just about any ethnic group one can think of. According to the estimates given in the 1970 census, about 20% of the population claims a mother tongue other than English; the largest linguistic group is Spanish, with 42,000 speakers of that language as a mother tongue. This aggregation is closely followed by the German, with 33,000; the next largest assemblage is the Italian, with 16,000 speakers. We must warn the reader, however, that these census figures are often regarded with suspicion by authorities on ethnicity who argue that the count is underestimated. One reason for the undercount is the prevalent confusion over the concept of "mother tongue," especially among those who were born in the United States yet who are perfectly bilingual. They often do not report their non-English language to the census takers.

Next in size in the mother tongue roster is the Scandinavian aggregation, with about 8,000 speakers. The Slavic group totals about 11,000 persons speaking the various Slavic tongues; the Greek, 3,300; the Hungarians, 2,000; and the Finns about 600. In addition, there are smaller, but growing, Asian communities, particularly Filipinos, Koreans, and Vietnamese.

To arrive at genuinely accurate figures concerning ethnic identification in the Tampa Bay area, my experience and information indicates that the census "mother tongue" figures should be at least

doubled, and in some cases tripled. For example, a University of Florida study quoted by WSOL, Tampa, claims there to be 170,500 Spanish-speaking persons in the Tampa Bay area, making it, as WSOL suggests, the 87th largest market in the United States counting Hispanics alone.

As a guide to the presence of small groups, we might glance at the churches of the area. The following list includes only those religious institutions that are avowedly ethnic in identity or affiliation:

Greek Orthodox	4
Russian Orthodox	4
Serbian Orthodox	1
Polish National Catholic	1
Ukrainian Catholic	2
Byzantine Catholic	2
Finnish Lutheran	1
German Lutheran	1
Hungarian Christian	1
Spanish Roman Catholic	3
Spanish Methodist	1
Korean Protestant	2

As far as radio itself is concerned, we might start by noting that the Lutheran service is broadcast once a month in the German language, from a Lutheran church in Clearwater. Further on the same topic, the Hungarian Christian church in Saint Petersburg broadcasts a brief service in Hungarian each Sunday, from 5:00 until 5:15 p.m. There are, in addition, two Jewish religious broadcasts, one from a local source, and the other from a Temple in New York.

We pointed out earlier that there is a large German-speaking group in the Tampa Bay area; thus it is not surprising to find a four-hour long German program broadcast weekly over WSOL. The program is called "Deutsche Funksendung," and features "News, Music, and Entertainment from Germany, Austria and Switzerland!--Memories Dear to Your Heart--" Until 1978, this program was presented on Sunday mornings; more recently it has been heard on Saturdays, from 9:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m.

The Tampa Bay area boasts two Greek programs, both of which give the impression of being prosperous because of their heavy volume of advertising. Though the Greek community is by no means one of the largest numerically, Greeks play a prominent part in the politics and economy of the area, and the prevailing custom of sending young Greek Americans to Greek School, where they learn something of the Greek language, music, and customs, extends the audience to at least the third generation. And the recent addition to the school curriculum in Tarpon Springs of both a bilingual program and a series of courses in Hellenic arts may mean that some of the non-Greek young people who encounter the tradition will wish to hear one of the Greek broadcasts.

Alex Avlon, whose "The Grecian Melodies Program" is broadcast over WWQT, Dunedin, on Sundays from 11:30 a.m. until 2:00 p.m., is an old-time ethnic broadcaster who was on the air over WHOD in the Pittsburgh area, as long ago as 1950. His program is popular both with advertisers and the listening public, and part of his success must lie in the fact that he is an indefatigible worker who is frequently to be seen in the small business establishments of his business supporters. The Sunday time-spot means that Greek families, after returning from the liturgy, can relax while listening to Hellenic music and language.

There is another Greek program broadcast in the Tampa Bay area; it has been aired at various times over different stations. Most recently, it has been broadcast for two hours late on Sunday afternoons.

WTIS identifies itself as "Your Inspiration Station," and for most of the week it specializes in religious broadcasts. On weekend afternoons, however, it becomes an ethnic station for a few hours. As recently as 1977, it broadcast "The Yugoslav Happy Hour," and more recently it has scheduled "The Voice of Lithuania" (produced in Chicago), "The Polish Gospel Hour," and the "Hungarian Gospel Hour." The ethnic staple on WTIS, however, is "Ron and Phil's Polka Party," which, in mid-1979 was broadcast on Saturday afternoons at 4:00 p.m. It is conducted in English, but largely directed towards Polish-Americans. Most of the selections are recorded by American polka bands, and the hosts tend to feature a special band each week, remarking that it is from, say, New Britain, and plays in Connecticut style, or from Buffalo. This is an effective technique in Florida, where so many retired persons are from somewhere else, and where they remember their old cities and towns by organizing themselves into clubs whose memberships are brought together on the basis of a common living-place "up North."

Ron and Phil exude a high level of Polish-American consciousness; a recent broadcast concluded with a polka that had the following refrain:

> Stop those Polish jokes,
> And love those Polish folks,
> Polish blood is flowing through my veins.

As of 1979, there was only one non-profit public station in the Tampa Bay area, WUSF, which serves a huge geographical area with National Public Radio offerings: "good" music, news, and public affairs. WUSF, in addition, schedules a single ethnic program for a half-hour on Wednesday evenings. It is produced and announced by Dr. Domenico Ierardo, of the faculty of the University of South Florida (parent of the station). "The Programma Italiana" includes Italian popular music, news of the University and the community, and offerings from Italian radio. Ierardo at one time was the host of another program, "La Voce d' Italia," broadcast over WSOL, Tampa, but though the program still exists, he is no longer connected with it.

The Tampa Bay area, with its interlocking social organizations of persons of a particular ethnic origin, persons from particular localities in the United States, and its highly-developed, muscular churches, is a region in which ethnic radio might well develop further. On several occasions, persons of various ethnic traditions have suggested to me that their group might well support a commercial broadcast. One Egyptian merchant, for example, thinks that the Arab community is in great need of a program that will bind it together in a far-flung geographical area that is not now served by Arab churches or important social organizations.

LOUISIANA

Although the Mobil Travel Guide places this state in the southwest and south central area, southern Louisiana looks and feels so much like the Deep South that we determined to include it in this category. While in Louisiana, we decided to concentrate on radio broadcasting in Acadian French, and we chose Lafayette for our center of operations. This city is about at the center for the French-speaking area, and is a cultural center for Acadian society, with offices of CODOFIL (Council for the Development of French in Louisiana--a state governmental organization), a university that promotes Cajun studies, and other amenities. French is commonly spoken on the streets; gumbo is on the menu of every restaurant; and huge bottles of hot-sauce stand on every table, next to the salt and pepper. As it happened, I did not record any programs actually broadcast in Lafayette itself, but rather in Crowley and Opelousas.

French-language programs are broadcast in some sixteen cities in southwest Louisiana: Abbeville, Baton Rouge, Crowley, Eunice, Franklin, Golden Meadow, Houma, Jennings, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Marksville, New Iberia, New Orleans, New Roads, Opelousas, and Ville Platte.

The programs broadcast on these stations fall into several categories:

1. CODOFIL broadcasts. These are aired in Jennings, Lafayette, Marksville, New Iberia, New Orleans, and Ville Platte.

2. Catholic and Baptist religious programs, broadcast both on Sunday and during the week.

3. News and music programs, often broadcast during the early morning or early evening hours.

A good estimate of the total number of hours of Acadian material broadcast throughout the week would be about 100 hours, with most of it accounted for by the third category.

Most of our investigation, and most of our taping, was centered on the town of Crowley, which calls itself "The Rice City." It has a population of about 17,000, and its two radio stations, KAJN and KSIG, are located in store-front headquarters downtown. Both stations present Cajun material. The French-language programs at KSIG are booming; and the station, according to a spokesman, makes money on them. ("They're a real money-maker," he told me.) KSIG presents its Cajun broadcasts daily from 5:00 until 7:00 p.m., and on Saturdays from 1:00 until 6:00 p.m. The broadcasts feature Cajun music, interspersed with ads for local merchants (in French), and jingles for such nationally-advertised products as Old Milwaukee and Schlitz beers (in English). The Cajun broadcasts are interrupted by network news (in English, of course).

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CONCLUSION

Having by now ranged broadly in time, place, and subject, it is time to attempt an assessment, an inventory of needs, and even a bit of guesswork concerning the future. These are all difficult to accomplish, largely because of the cultural and economic situation in the United States at the present time. We can only pose questions: Is the so-called movement back to the cities real? Is the nation poised on the brink of multiculturalism? Will the struggle for total standardization of product and culture overcome its opposite? Will the economic situation in the nation lead many persons to become small individual proprietors? Will the proliferation of possible electronic networks make intercommunication of all kinds a freer thing than it has been heretofore? Will the United States find it necessary and convenient to become, like Switzerland, a nation in which everyone speaks several languages? In order to attempt a prediction concerning the future of ethnic broadcasting it is necessary that we steel ourselves and guess at the answers to all of these questions. But, since a tail does not wag a dog, we will content ourselves here with raising them as a kind of gossamer backdrop to our final observations. This study itself will help to inflect the future, not because of any especial merit, but because it identifies and points up a little-known yet significant phenomenon.

The cultural, educational, and economic benefits of ethnic radio to small business are obvious by now, but we come, yet again, to the question of the economic feasibility of this genre of broadcasting. We have quoted station managers who say, as one executive put it, that ethnic broadcasting is "a good way to make a living"; we have quoted producers who are concerned for their future, largely because of what they regard as the intransigence of station management. Recently, Eugene D. Jackson, president of the National Black Network, was quoted as saying that advertisers "have for the most part neglected this vital segment of the economy which last year amounted to $80 billion and which, if a separate country, would be the eighth largest in the world." One cannot say just where, in a ranking of ethnic groups, the Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews, and so on, would fall, but we are all familiar with the claim that there are more Irish in New York than in Dublin; Jews than in Tel Aviv; and so on. Only to the extent to which persons of these diverse backgrounds catagorize themselves as belonging to this or that ethnic group, <u>can</u> the ethnic broadcaster flourish. He has got to be able to speak with assurance and composure of the size of his actual and potential market if he is to continue to prosper. A good deal of the basic demographic research can be done using only census materials as source materials.

The relation of the Federal government to ethnic radio is as important to ethnic broadcasters as policies made in Washington are

to all other businesses. It might as well be stated at the outset that the Federal government is not beloved of ethnic broadcasters in particular, or of ethnic activists in general. At its most basic level, ethnics point to the existence of Federal Executive Order 11246, "Equal Employment Opportunity," which, they say, has never been enforced. They point to a number of cases brought to various Federal agencies charged with preventing job discrimination, and they claim unfair treatment. They find the F.C.C. uninterested in their situation (quoting the Cleveland case mentioned above); they indicate the existence of F.C.C. ruling 58-734-61564 as being antithetical to the ideal of multicultural broadcasting.

They look at the activities of public television, with its endless parade of B.B.C. specials; they listen to National Public Radio, which ignores them. They are aware that, however sedulously these organizations proclaim themselves to be (as N.P.R. puts it in one of its flyers) "private nonprofit" corporations, that they are, in fact, mainly funded by Federal monies. They attempt to penetrate the smokescreen that surrounds the stealthy growth of cable TV; they scorn the Small Business Administration. In short, they are fed up, and since they, as a group, are less susceptible to the blandishments of mass media than most other people, they are unlikely to be forgetful concerning their disaffection.

At the same time, there is no more loyal assemblage of American citizens than this group, which takes very seriously and uncynically the promises of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But their total rejection in the halls of government makes them wary, not of the principles of the nation, but in the ways in which they see them as being applied. Though they are, almost without exception, entrepreneurial and fiercely independent, they do want--and need--the assistance of a number of agencies of their government. Among these, they would list the now distrusted S.B.A. and F.C.C.; the to-them-irrelevant Arts and Humanities Endowments; and possibly the public broadcasting bureaucracy.

Joshua Fishman, talking of institutions that are available to assist with what he calls "language maintenance," refers to a number of cultural entities that, untouched by religion (and hence able to preserve the distinction between Church and State), might be assisted in the process. Among them, he lists "several colleges and universities as well as hundreds of periodicals, radio broadcasts, and cultural or scholarly institutions of American ethnic groups" (Fishman 1972, p. 31). "Whether by tax exemption, by direct support or even by indirect facilitation and encouragement, means could be found for giving recognition and assistance to these vehicles of language maintenance. Not only has there been no studied attempt to do this but negative and exploitative steps have often been taken (or implied), of which language loyalists are painfully aware" (ibid.).

The devices put forward by Fishman have been little--if indeed at all--used by ethnic broadcasters, with one exception, to which we shall return presently. There seems, however, to be no reason why certain programs could not be reorganized along non-profit corporate lines, with donations rather than advertising as we now know it. The possibility seems to deserve exploration.

The exception to the statement given above is this: a handful of programs (Hindu in New York; Irish in San Francisco; Italian in Tampa) are presented on public broadcasting stations, without advertising, but with grants from such giants as Air-India and The Bank of America. There is no reason why the producer could not be recompensed for the time put in. This idea, of course, presumes that the local station is willing to accept such a broadcast, and that a backer can be found which is willing to settle for a brief, non-exhortatory announcement.

In 1971, "Sedulus" (who wrote on television for The New Republic), composed a column in which he or she described the experience of watching, for two weeks, a program called "Penelope's Hellenic Hour," on "the District of Columbia's most obscure TV channel (#14)."

> The first program was a Christmas church service two days late, with children singing carols bilingually; and it was as outrageous an exhibition of amateurism as any I have ever seen on the tube. I enjoyed every note off key, every flubbed line, every frantic glance at the prompter. It was warm, genuine, the sort of thing one never finds, particularly at Xmas, on the commercial tube. It almost (but not quite) restored my faith in Xmas, and I wondered as I watched why amateurism was only possible in a situation operating outside the American Way. ("Sedulus" 1971, p. 29)

There is much to say about this, none of it straightforwardly pro or con. To begin with, we would not wish our readers to derive from this quote the notion that ethnic broadcasting, as a whole, is amateurish. It would not even be accurate to presume that Penelope herself was an amateur. There was, in the first place, ethnic style: a Greek Orthodox church is not so formal or still a place as, say, a Presbyterian one. There is, secondly, the notion that children, after all, are children, and that they should appear, even on television, as such. "Penelope's Hellenic Hour" was just, well, Hellenic.

This program and automated radio are at two opposite poles. One is warmly humane; the other coldly automated. We can hardly doubt the survival, for a time at least, of the second. "Sedulus," however, is pessimistic concerning the survival of the first. (He entitles his piece, "The End of Momma.") I, writing seven years later, am not so pessimistic. Some of the people who would "help," I think, should be thanked politely--and sent away, politely but firmly; for the continuity

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of what, after all, is one of the oldest traditions in American broadcasting must be a self-help project.

The time when there may well be a great change in patterns of American media draws near: the Communications Act is being revised; the two-way Qube system, in Columbus, allows listener response (of a sort); one should shortly be able to purchase a home antenna that allows direct access to communications satellites. And there is more: the optical fiber that will allow a single line to carry multitudinous signals. And the rumors about cable: that, when cable is deregulated, the giant telephone companies will be prepared to move in. (Who else, after all, runs wires into nearly every American home?) What, moreover, of plans to transmit less popular programs between 1:00 and 6:00 a.m. for automatic home taping (just as radio stations do with line transmissions now)? And whatever has been said above of video technology can be repeated for radio.

There are many possible positions on all of this, but the ethnic broadcaster, who has long since made a commitment to the media, needs to study such matters at once, for their implications, both for him, for the educational system, and for the future of a multicultural America, are profound indeed.

Perhaps the proposed changes that will have the greatest possible impact on the ethnic radio producer, however, are two. The first may result from the F.C.C's ongoing study of time-brokerage, the result of which may be to encourage additional brokered programs. The second is the Commission's hope of expanding the AM band, by seeking an expanded share of the world's radio spectrum (New York Times, 7 December 1978, p. D1), and by eliminating the 50,000 watt clear-channel stations and allocating their frequencies to lower power local operations. Any of these changes could have a powerfullly positive effect on ethnic broadcasting.

In the foregoing study, we have attempted to portray ethnic broadcasting in front of the curtain of contemporary life, with its themes of fascination with--and uncertainty about--technology, consumption, and the interchangeability of parts and people. Radio has changed vastly since the advent of network television; ethnic radio has remained more relaxed, more stable, hence more "old-fashioned."

Some of the most puzzling dilemmas in current American life are illustrated with brilliant clarity by the case of ethnic radio: among them are concerns about neighborhood and sub-culture; multiculture versus uniculture; alienation; marginality; cultural maintenance; small versus large enterprise; the ownership and control of the sources of electronically induced information.

Ethnic broadcasting has always been closely tied to the neighborhood concept, so that radio is expected to provide separate means of electronic communication for each of many cultures, living in each of many cities and regions. Listeners to ethnic radio are expected to know one another, else what use is it to announce that Mrs. So-and-so has died; that Saint Vincent's will hold a dinner-dance; that kielbasi or filo is available at such-and-such a market. In this way--among many others--it swims strongly against the cultural-economic current so chillingly delineated by Vance Packard, in his A Nation of Strangers: "People ask me where I come from and I say nowhere" (an airline stewardess).

Ethnic broadcasting is small business; it nourishes and succors other small business. In this way, again, it runs counter to the economic tendencies expressed at their most grandiose by the multinational corporation and the fast-food franchise restaurant.

Ethnic broadcasting remained small, and adamantly local, during a period in communications history that commenced with the linkage of the nation over radio via telephone lines, and has come now to national and international linkages spawned by satellites. It has remained alive during an era of intense pressure for cultural assimilation expressed not only by the media, but more especially by the educational, cultural, and economic establishments. And it survived to participate in what some see as the cultural fission of the United States. Of a sudden the ethnic broadcaster is surrounded with new programs: bilingual education, bicultural training, multicultural festivals, participation by government and foundations. One cannot say, of course, what the future of these new arrivals may be, but we can predict stability--and possibly growth--for those ethnic broadcasters who, Sunday after Sunday, year in and year out, tenaciously pursue their often thankless cultural task.

Even the pandits of communication seem, at last, to be supportive. McLuhan tells us that in recent years, "radio was released from . . . centralist network pressure. . . . Since TV, radio has turned to the individual need of people at different times of the day" (McLuhan 1964, p. 306). He then goes on to speak of "the natural bias of radio to a close tie-in with diversified community groups" (ibid.). One cannot doubt that, in the paradoxical and contrary way that is so much a part of human endeavor, the grinding demand for uniformity of product and culture is spawning its opposite: the demand for multiformity. Ethnic broadcasting, unnoticed, has with great serenity passed through the eye of the storm; commencing life not long after the Palmer Raids, it has survived into the era of bilingual education. Thus it possesses great value, historically as well as intrinsically.

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INDICES TO BROADCASTS

The indices that follow are a guide to the tape-recordings of broadcasts made in the course of assembling this work. There are four of them:

I. A list, alphabetically by state and then by cities, of stations from which we recorded ethnic broadcasts.

II. An index arranged alphabetically by station call-letters of tape numbers and the ethnic groups that appear on each tape. In nearly all cases, the tape represents the actual name of the station, but in a few instances, where we utilized one side of the tape to record a broadcast on another station, the actual station and the tape enumeration do not match. These cases we have noted in the list. (See, for example, tape WEAW 1b.)

III. An alphabetical listing by ethnic group, giving further information about each program.

IV. A listing of religious programs.

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I. STATES AND CITIES

Arizona,	Flagstaff:	KCLS
California,	Arcadia:	KMAX
	Inglewood:	KTYM
	Los Angeles	KLV
	San Francisco:	KBRG
		KEST
	Stockton:	KSTN
Colorado,	Denver:	KADX
		KPNO
	Ignacio:	KSUT
Connecticut,	Hartford:	WLBH
	New Britain:	WRYM
Florida,	Coral Gables:	WRHC
	Dunedin:	WWQT
	Miami:	WCMQ
	Miami Beach:	WMBM
	Pinellas Park:	WFSO
	Tampa:	WSOL
Illinois,	Chicago:	WEAW
		WEDC
		WNIB
		WSBC
	Evanston:	WLTD
	Highland Park:	WQVQ
	La Grange:	WTAW
Louisiana,	Crowley:	KSIG
	Opelousas:	KSLO
Maryland,	Baltimore:	WITH
Massachusetts,	Medford:	WWEL
	Newton:	WNTN
Michigan,	Detroit:	WMZK
		WQRS
	Garden City:	WIID
Nevada,	Elko:	KELK

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New Jersey,	Camden:	WCAM
New Mexico,	Espanola:	KBSO
		KDCE
New York,	New York:	WADO
		WEVD
		WFUV
		WHBI
		WKCR
		WLIB
		WPOW
Ohio,	Cleveland:	WZAK
	Columbus:	WCBE
		WOSU
		WRMZ
Pennsylvania,	Braddock:	WLOA
	Jenkintown:	WIBF
	McKeesport:	WEDO
	Philadelphia:	WTEL
	Pittsburgh:	WPIT
Texas,	El Paso:	KAMA

CANADA

Ontario,	Windsor:	CHYR

MEXICO

Baja Cal.,	Tijuana:	XEGM
Chihuahua,	Ciudad Juarez:	XEJ
		XHEM
Sonora,	Hermosilla:	XNM

II. STATIONS

KADX, Denver.

1. German

KAMA, El Paso.

1. Spanish

KBRG, San Francisco.

1a. Filipino Religious
1b. Portuguese Religious
2a. Estonian Religious
2b. Armenian
3a. Armenian
3b. Polish
4a. Polish
4b. Assyrian
5a. Assyrian

KBSO, Espanola, New Mexico.

1. Spanish

KCLS, Flagstaff, Arizona

1. Spanish

KDCE, Espanola, New Mexico

1. Spanish
2. Spanish

KELK, Elko, Nevada

1. Basque

KEST, San Francisco

1a. German
1b. Afro-American
2. East Indian
3. Pakistani

KFAX, San Francisco

1. Irish

KLV, Los Angeles

1. Mexican

KMAX, Los Angeles

1. Chinese
2. Japanese

KPNO, Denver

1. Mexican

KQED, San Francisco

1. Irish

KSIG, Crowley, Louisiana

1. French
2. French

KSLO, Opelousas, Louisiana

1. French

KSUT, Ignacio, Colorado

1. Mixed
2. Ute

KTYM, Inglewood, California

1a. Russian Religious
1b. Hungarian
2a. Hungarian
3. Armenian
4a. Italian Religious
4b. Armenian
5a. Armenian
5b. German
6a. Japanese
6b. Spanish Religious

WADO, New York

1. Spanish

WCAM, Camden, New Jersey

1. Greek

WCBE, Columbus, Ohio

1. Balkan
2. Polka
3. Balkan
4. Balkan

WCMQ, Miami

1. Cuban

WCMQ FM, Miami

1. Cuban

WEAW, Evanston, Illinois

1a. Viennese
1b. Polish

WEDC, Chicago

1. Polish
1b. Italian

WEDO, McKeesport, Pennsylvania

1a. Greek

WEVD, New York

1. Italian
2. Jewish
3. Portuguese

WFSO, Pinellas Park, Florida

1. Greek

WFUV, New York

1. East Indian

WHBI, New York

1. Greek
2a. Jewish
2b. Yugoslav
3a. Turkish
3b. Iranian
4. Scandinavian
5a. Albanian
5b. Norwegian
6a. Armenian
6b. Serbian Religious
7a. Rumanian
7b. East Indian
8a. Ecuadorian
8b. Serbian
9a. Hungarian
10. Korean

WIBF, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania

1. Irish
2. Spanish

WIID, Garden City, Michigan

1. Polish

WITH, Baltimore

1a. Lithuanian
1b. German
2a. German
3. Italian
4. Lithuanian
5. German

WKCR, New York

1. Chinese
2. Haitian

WLIB, New York

1. West Indian

WLOA, Braddock, Pennsylvania

1a. Ruthenian Religious
1b. Latin Mass

WLTD, Evanston, Illinois

1. Polka

WMBM, Miami Beach

1. Afro-American Religious

WM2K, Detroit

1. Arab
2a. Greek Orthodox Religious
2b. Arab
3. Hungarian
4. Bulgarian
5. East Indian
6. Maltese
7. Rumanian
8a. Italian
8b. Lithuanian
9a. Lithuanian
9b. Croatian

WNIB, Chicago

1a. Hungarian
1b. Serbian
2. Serbian (Sumadija region)
3. Lithuanian

WNTN, Newton, Massachusetts

1. Greek

WOSU, Columbus, Ohio

1. Spanish

WPIT, Pittsburgh

1a. Slovene
1b. Lithuanian
2a. Ukrainian
2b. Ukrainian
2b. (Second half) Ukrainian Religious
3. Greek
4a. Greek Religious
4a. (Second half) Italian
5a. Italian
5b. Arab

WPOW, New York

1. Polish
2. Ukrainian Religious

WQRS, Detroit

1. Scottish
2. Mexican

WQVQ, Highland Park, Illinois

1a. Italian (Broadcast on WSBC)
1b. Italian
2. Creek
3. Serbian
4a. Filipino
4b. Greek
5a. Yugoslav
5b. Greek (Broadcast on WEAW)

WRHC, Miami

1. Cuban

WRMZ, Columbus, Ohio

1. German
2. German

WRYM, New Britain, Connecticut

1a. Spanish (Broadcast on WLBH)
1b. Italian

WSOL, Tampa

1. German
2. German

WTAQ, La Grange, Illinois

1a. East Indian
1b. Croatian
2a. Croatian
2b. Scandinavian Religious
3a. Czechoslovak
3b. Greek

WTEL, Philadelphia

1a. Ukrainian Religious
1b. Russian Religious

WWEL, Medford, Massachusetts

1a. Jewish
1b. East Indian
2. Lithuanian
3. Portuguese
4a. Polish

WWQT, Dunedin, Florida

1. Greek

WZAK, Cleveland

1. Spanish
2. Polish
3a. Greek
3b. Hungarian
4. Slovak
5. Irish
6. Arab
7. Czechoslovak
8. Bohemian
9. Slovenian
10. British

CANADA

CHYR, Windsor, Ontario

1a. German
1b. Hungarian
2a. Finnish Religious
2b. Polish

MEXICO

XEGM, Tijuana

1. Spanish

XEJ, Juarez

1. Spanish

XHEM, Juarez

1. Spanish

XNM, Hermosilla

1. Spanish

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III. ETHNIC GROUPS

Afro-American, KEST 1b; WMBM 1
Albanian, WHBI 5a
Arab, WMZK 1; WMXK 2b; WPIT 6b; WZAK 6
Armenian, KBRG 2b-3a; KTYM 3; KTYM 4b-5a; WHBI 6a
Assyrian, KBRG 4b-5a
Balkan, WCBE 1, 3, 4
Basque, KELK 1
Bohemian, WZAK 8
British, WZAK 10
Bulgarian, WMZK 4
Chinese, KMAX 1; WKCR 1
Croatian, WMZK 9b; WTAW 1b-2a
Cuban, WCMQ 1; WCMQ FM 1; WRHC 1
Czech, WZAK 7
Czechoslovak, WTAQ 3a
Dominican, WADO 1
East Indian, KEST 2; WFUV 1; WTAQ 1a (Broadcast on WLTD); WHBI 7b; WMZK 5; WWEL 1b
Ecuadorian, WHBI 8a
Estonian, KBRG 2a
Filipino, KBRG 1a; WQVQ 4a
French (Acadian), KSLO 1; KSIG 1-3
German, KADX 1; KEST 1a; KTYM 5b; WITH 1, 2, 5; WRMZ 1-2; WSOL 1-2
Greek, WCAM 1; WEDO 1a; WFSO 1; WHBI 1; WMZK 2a; WNTN 1; WPIT, 3, 4a; WQVQ 2, 4b, 5b (Broadcast on WEAW); WTAQ 3b; WWQT 1; WZAK 3a
Haitian, WKCR 2
Hungarian, KTYM 1b-2a; WHBI 9a; WMZK 3; WNIB 1a; WZAK 3b
Iranian, WHBI 3b
Irish, KFAX 1; KQED 1; WIBF 1; WZAK 5
Italian, KTYM 4a; WEDC 1b; WEVD 1; WITH 3; WMZK 8a; WPIT 4a (Second half) 5a; WQVQ 1a (Broadcast on WSBC), 1b; WRYM 1b
Japanese, KMAX 2; KTYM 6a
Jewish, WEVD 2; WHBI 2a; WIBF 3; WWEL 1a
Korean, WHBI 10
Latin Mass, WLOA 1b
Lithuanian, WITH 1, 4; WMZK 8b-9a; WNIB 3; WPIT 1b; WWEL 2
Maltese, WMZK 6
Mexican, KAMA 1; KBSO 1; KLV 1; KPNO 1; WQRS 2
Navajo, KCLS 1

Norwegian, WHBI 5b
Pakistani, KEST 3
Polish, KBRG 3b-4a; WEAW 1b (Broadcast on WSBC); WEDC 1; WIID 1; WPOW 1; WWEL 4; WZAK 2
Polka, WITD 1; WCDE 2
Portuguese, KBRG 1b; WEVD 3; WWEL 3
Rumanian, WHBI 7a; WMZK 7
Russian, KTYM 1a; WTEL 1b
Ruthenian, WLOA 1a
Scandinavian, WHBI 4; WTAQ 2b
Scottish, WQRS 1
Serbian, WHBI 6b, 8b; WNIB 1b, 2, WQVQ 3
Slovak, WZAK 4
Slovenian, WPIT 1a; WZAK 9
Spanish, KDCE 1, 2; KTYM 6b; WIBF 2; WOSU 1; WRYM 1a (Broadcast on WHBH); WZAK 1
Turkish, WHBI 3a
Ukrainian, WPIT 2a, 2b (First half), 2b (Second half); WPOW 2; WTEL 1a
Ute, KSUT 1, 2
Viennese, WEAW 1a
West Indian, WLIB 1
Yugoslav, WHBI 2b, WQVQ, 5a

CANADA

Finnish, CHRY 2
German, CHRY 1
Hungarian, CHRY 1
Polish, CHRY 2

MEXICO

Mexican, XEGM 1; XEJ 1; XHEM 1; XNM 1

IV. RELIGIOUS BROADCASTS

Afro-American
WMBM 1 (Gospel Program)
Estonian
KBRG 2a "Estonian Christian Hour"
Filipino
KBRG 1a "Faith Bible Church of San Francisco
Finnish
CHYR 2a "Finnish Pentecostal Program"
Greek
WMZK 2a "The Voice of Orthodoxy"
WPIT 4a "The Voice of the Gospel"
Italian
KYTM 4a "The Italian Catholic Hour"
Japanese
KTYM 6a "The Voice of Prophecy"
Jewish
WEVD 2 "Le Haym to Life"
WEVD 2a (Religious teaching)
Norwegian
WHBI 5b "Young People of the 66th Street Church"
Portuguese
KBRG 1b "Portuguese Baptist Program"
Roman Catholic (Traditionalist)
WLOA 1b (Latin Liturgy)
Russian
KTYM 1a "Russian Gospel Hour"
WTEL 1b (Russian Gospel Program)
Ruthenian
WLOA 1a (Ruthenian Catholic Liturgy)
Scandinavian
WTAQ 2b (Salvation Army Program)
Serbian
WHBI 6b (Serbian Religious Program)
Spanish
KTYM 6b "The Voice of Deliverance"
Ukrainian
WPIT 2b "The Ukrainian Gospel Hour"
WPOW 2 "The Ukrainian Catholic Hour"
WTEL 1a "The Ukrainian Catholic Hour"

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